

A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
TRANSACTIONS
IN
BENGAL,

FROM THE
YEAR 1760, to the YEAR 1764,

During the GOVERNMENT of
Mr. HENRY VANSITTART.

Published by HIMSELF.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, at the Bible and Sun,
in St. Paul's Church-yard; J. DODSLEY, in
Pall Mall; and J. ROBSON, in Bond-street.

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ANSITTART

TRANSACTIONS

VOLUME III

P. C. G

“  MAKING now into consideration the necessary regulations for restraining our agents and gomastahs, from interfering with any affairs of the country government, injuring the people, or being injured by them, and for deciding of disputes which may arise between them : It is agreed,

FIRST, That at all those aurungs which are adjacent to, or under the management of the subordinate factories, the gomastahs, in case of being injured by any of the officers of the government or their dependents, shall first make their

application for redress, in writing to the officer of the government, residing on the spot; from whom, if he does not receive immediate satisfaction, he shall send his complaint to the chief of the nearest factory, who shall be empowered to take cognizance of the same, and demand, or exact, if necessary, the satisfaction which the case may require; but that it is to be understood in respect of weavers, pykars, and all others who receive advances of money for goods to be provided, or are indebted for goods bought, the gomastahs shall retain their power as usual, to call such persons to account. That, on the other hand, where the government's people shall have reason to complain against English gomastahs or agents, they shall give the said agent or gomastah notice of the complaint in writing, requiring and recommending to him to settle it in an amicable and equitable manner; and in case the agent or gomastah refuses, or neglects, to settle it in such manner, as shall appear reasonable to the government's

ment's officer, he shall then transmit an account of it to the chief of the nearest English factory, and deliver a copy of the said account to the gomastah. And the chief of the factory is hereby required to examine strictly into the affair, and decide it according to justice, giving a copy of his determination to the officer of the government, who made the complaint. That the gentlemen of the subordinates shall keep a register of such complaints, with the decisions past on them, a copy whereof shall be forwarded monthly to the Presidency.

SECONDLY, With respect to the distant places where trade is carried on, such as Rungpoor, Poorneea, Gwalparah and Rangamettee, there is at present no resident on the part of the Company; but at Rungpoor, a provision of silk is made by a gomastah, from Cossimbuzar factory, which provision, it is hoped, may be increased and improved, by the care of a covenanted servant. At the same time, the situation of the place is such, as will be convenient for examining

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ing

ing the complaints, and deciding the disputes which may arise in most of those places.

AGREED, therefore, that the addition of a senior servant be made to the Council at Cossimbuzar, and that he be appointed resident at Rungpoor.

THAT the orders forbidding our servants or dependents, from holding lands, gunges, rents or employments of any kind, under the country government, shall be again repeated.

THAT such, however, as have inherited taalooks from purchase, or other good right, shall not be obliged to give them up, but hold them as other taalookdars in the country, being informed once for all, that in respect to such rents held from the government, they are not to avail themselves of our protection to invest them with any particular privileges.

THAT such complaints as have already been made, and transmitted to the several subordinates, shall be inquired into, and decided conformably to the above regulation ; and that such as have
not

not yet, shall now be forwarded to the proper subordinates for that purpose."

THIS regulation might answer very well, if all chiefs and residents of the English were disinterested men, would receive complaints against their own gomastahs with temper, and decide them with justice and equity, even if their own profits were to be lessened by it. But a succession of such men is not to be expected in any service ; and there is besides another difficulty, proceeding from the distance of the places, where some of these gomastahs are employed, from any of the Company's factories ; so that in many cases it would be impossible to get at the truth ; and it is easy to conceive the disorder which must take place in any community, where there exists no power of determining on the spot the disputes which may arise.

I IMAGINED the Nabob would be much alarmed, by the assembly of the members of the Council from the subordinate factories, and the reports which

would reach him from Calcutta, of their being determined to break with him. We heard now of his being on his return from his expedition to Beteea and Napaul; and I concluded, that the being nearer at hand to settle the contested points, was the chief reason for his quick return, although it was reported, he had been defeated on the borders of Napaul. His apprehensions of the designs of the Council against him, cannot be stronger expressed than in his own letters.

THE following are copies of his letters of the 22d and 26th of February.

The Nabob's Letter of the 22d of February.

“ **W**HEN you came here an agreement in writing was made between us, which I imagined all the gentlemen would consent to; but it is amazing, that not a single person has approved of it.

NOTWITHSTANDING all you have expressly directed to the chiefs of the Patna and Dacca factories, they do not pay any regard

regard to it; but return for answer,
“ We do not approve of the Governor’s
“ proceedings; when the gentlemen of
“ the Council write to us, we will im-
“ mediately follow their directions.”

SINCE the commencement of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn’s management to the present time, I have not known any one but yourself. Now the gentlemen of all the factories do not regard your directions, but require the orders of the Council, and they ruin the affairs both of this province and Bengal, the zemindarrees, the merchandize, the reiat, &c. for what reason I cannot conceive. I neither have, nor shall negotiate with any person but yourself; and therefore I plainly write, that if you intend to regard the agreement made between us, you should act in such a manner, that the gentlemen may not make their objections to it; if not, advise me of it. I understand, that a number of the gentlemen are inclined to establish another Subahdar. This appears to me a trivial matter. Let them establish

whom they please, it is of no consequence to me. I do not regard matters of so small importance. God made the world, and every thing is ruled by him. I beg you will speedily write me an answer to this letter. Herewith I send you copies of a letter to Rajah Nobit Roy from Mr. Ellis, and one from Jesharut Cawn to me. I gave you lands to the amount of fifty lacks of rupees, for the maintenance of troops to destroy my enemies; but it is amazing, that a number of gentlemen have, on the contrary, collected troops against me, in order to ruin my country. It is the universal persuasion, that the Europeans are to be confided in; but to see all this surprizes me much."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor, dated February 26, 1763.

"YOUR favour is arrived, and has given me much satisfaction. You write, that "at this time you are informed, by a letter from the chief of Patna factory, that as the Company's
"falt-

“ salt-petre was coming from about
“ Gauzypoor laden on bullocks; the au-
“ mil, at a place called Manjee, took
“ off the salt-petre from the bullocks,
“ and drove away the bullocks, and the
“ salt-petre is lying at the aforefaid place.
“ Also that one boat of the Company’s
“ laden with salt-petre, the officer at a
“ place called Seefan has feized, unladen
“ the salt-petre, nor will let it pafs. A-
“ gain, that four boats laden with bee-
“ tle-nut, which were proceeding in
“ the way, purfuant to a duftuck from
“ the chief of Dacca factory, the fou-
“ gedar of Rajemahl has detained, want-
“ ing to collect a duty. If I have any de-
“ fire to remove all fufpicion from your
“ breast, I muft punifh my officers one
“ and all; that agreeably to the letter
“ which you have written and given to
“ me, the affairs of my government,
“ and the Company’s trade, fhould go
“ on in a courfe lefs interrupted than
“ heretofore; and no fingle article of
“ goods that has the Company’s duftuck
“ with it fhould be impeded; nor fhould
“ there

“ there be in any place the least obstacle
“ to your buying and selling the coun-
“ try commodities ; but upon salt, to-
“ bacco, beetle-nut, and dried fish, I
“ should take nine *per cent.* upon the
“ cost, and give my own dustuck ; but
“ that the officers of my government
“ feign orders of themselves, and report
“ abroad, that the English gomastahs
“ are not to be allowed in the country,
“ nor any one buy or sell, or do any
“ manner of business with them. That
“ by these proceedings, the agreement
“ concluded between you and me is to-
“ tally broken, and there will be ano-
“ ther treaty made, in which it will be
“ particularly expressed how my officers
“ are to act, and how the English go-
“ mastahs ; and since letters from me
“ to you, and you to me, with their
“ answers, are not less than a month in
“ coming, and you cannot allow that
“ the Company’s business, and that of
“ the English gentlemen, should remain
“ in suspense for my order ; that there-
“ fore I must write to Meer Syed Ma-
“ homed

“ homed Cawn at Moorshedabad, and
“ to Mahomed Allee Beg at Dacca, that
“ as a new treaty is intended to be made
“ and ratified by both parties, until it
“ is concluded and sent to them, they
“ must cause the business of the Com-
“ pany, and private gentlemen, to go
“ on in the manner it formerly was con-
“ ducted ; and that if my officers in the
“ provinces act contrary thereto, you
“ will send the Company’s forces to
“ clear your business.”

SIR, although with respect to the cat-
tle for carrying your petre, I know there
has been no obstruction at all ; yet I have
sent orders every where, to examine into
the affair of the bullocks laden with pe-
tre, and also the boats. Hereafter I
will write you the particulars, and send
them. And with regard to the boats
laden with beetle-nut, on which, you write
Cootub Aalum demands duties. Sir,
before the arrival of your friendly letter,
Cootub Aalum had represented in an
arzee to me, that there were some boats,
of which you had released before his face
all

all but four, which remained, and which, because of a forged dustuck, you left in charge with him, and proceeded on your way. Herewith I inclose the arzee for your perusal.

SINCE you were pleased to observe, in the agreement before alluded to, that my dustuck was to be along with the purchase, and sale of beetle-nut, and other articles of inland trade ; beyond all doubt Cootub Aalum, without being shewn my dustuck, would not let the boats pass, in which case my officer does not appear to have committed any fault. Be you the judge in this affair.

As to what you write of the disturbances of my officers, it appears from thence, that the agreement made between us the Council has not assented to ; to be sure, whatever your gomastahs write, is all exactly just and proper, and my people tell nothing but lies and bare-faced falsities. I must have all losses in your trade made good to you ; but who will indemnify me for the loss of revenues, justly due to my government ?

I MUST

I MUST cut off my officers heads ; but your gomastahs, who are guilty of oppressions, receive encouragement from you. You know very well, Sir, that I never desired such a treaty, it was merely in compliance with your pleasure, that I assented to it. Now that the Council do not agree to it, and want to make another treaty, this is unreasonable. Three demands which I formerly made to you, I now again repeat. The first is this ; from the beginning until now, the Nazim of Bengal corresponded with the Governor of Calcutta, as I have and do with you, having no correspondence with the rest of the Board.

THE second is, I have before remarked to you, that the Company's trade has been established from time immemorial ; but, at present, besides the Company's trade, the gomastahs of the English gentlemen have set up the trade of salt, tobacco, dried fish, timbers, &c. and purchase from the country people by force and extortion, and are continually making unjust disputes and wrangling with
my

my officers, so that the poor, the inhabitants, the merchants, and manufacturers of my country are oppressed, and both you and myself are troubled with unjust vexations. Now I say, that your gomastahs are to trade as heretofore, in merchandize imported and exported; and are to refrain from those articles of trade, which interfere with the revenues due to my government, and are a cause of disputes, and the ruin of the inhabitants and poor people.

THE third is, whether your will is, that I shall have the charge of the expences of the army, and management of the country, and his Majesty's revenues; and that your gomastahs shall carry on those branches of trade, which were never allowed in the country, oppress the country, by interfering in the government, under pretence of trade, and that my officers shall not have their due authority, nor offer to oppose them. If this be the case, it is out of my power to carry on the business of this subahdarree. I wish not to be concerned in
a charge

a charge of so much vexation ; you may be pleased to find out some other that will undertake it. For my part, I am heartily tired with these disputes and wranglings. Why do you take the trouble to send forces against my officers? Why do not you write to them to quit their stations, and repair to me, for they have no forces to oppose you? You are sensible, that in Chittagong, Midnapoor, and Burdwan, which, agreeable to treaty, I ceded to the Company ; not a man of mine ever enters, and I refrain even from providing the customary cloths for my own use. If you do not determine justly for me, it is a matter of great surprise."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated February 26, 1763.

"YOUR letter is arrived, and has much rejoiced me. You write, that, " by a copy of the letter which " Mahomed Allee Beg wrote to Meer " Abdulla, the aumil of the pergunah " of Sundeep, it appears, Mahomed " Allee

“ Allee Beg’s intention is, that not a
“ single Englishman shall be suffered in
“ the country ; that, moreover, he has
“ occasioned much loss to the Compa-
“ ny’s business, and therefore the treaty
“ made between us is totally broken
“ by Mahomed Allee Beg ; that I must
“ bring the aforesaid person to punish-
“ ment, or you cannot sit by inactive,
“ and let the Company’s business go to
“ ruin ; also, that the Chief of Lucky-
“ poor, neither imprisoned my yessa-
“ wal, nor killed any burcandassee,
“ nor detained Golam Ahmud ; and
“ that all which Mahomed Allee Beg
“ wrote to me, on that subject, is false.”

SIR, you know very well who the person is, that occasions all the mischief between us. The punishing of Mahomed Allee Beg is a trifle ; and God willing, when I arrive in Bengal, if he shall have committed any fault, I will chastize him.

BUT you have no power to punish any person that creates mischief under your administration ;

administration. Your order is absolute, with respect to my people, but you have not the least command over your own.

IT is highly incumbent on you to call such persons to an account, or they will occasion a rupture between you and me. From the beginning, even until now, I have never meddled with a single gomastah, or any one of your people; but your chief, who has before confined my officers, now again wants to send troops against them, and have them brought bound. It is surprising that you retort this charge upon me.

YOU accuse me of these things, tho' I have no hand in them; but what occasion is there to alledge the complaints of your gomastahs, for a pretence to tell me, that Mahomed Allee Beg, by his oppressions, has broken the agreement between us. Sir, expressions of this kind, imply some other design; since, I have never seen or heard, that any servants, by their misbehavior, should destroy a treaty concluded by their superiors. You must be sensible of this, and why will

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you throw the blame upon another? What Jeffarut Cawn, and Mahomed Allee Beg, formerly wrote on the subject of my yessawal's confinement, I immediately transmitted to you, as they related it, and this you are greatly offended at. But when you, in consequence of an information from the chief of Luckypoor, insisted, that Mahomed Allee Beg had killed your seepoys, what better proofs had you of that charge, that you are now so much offended at this trivial complaint of theirs? For, at this time also, my yessawal, who is arrived, and was interrogated before me, makes the following relation, viz. that

“ when he reached Luckypoor, he shew-
“ ed my dustuck to Golam Ahmud, that
“ scarce an hour had past, when the
“ chief of Luckypoor factory sent 200
“ men, and surrounded him when he
“ was alone, and unattended, and ill
“ treating him, carried him off as fast
“ as they could, with many acts of vio-
“ lence: that the chief aforesaid, and
“ others of the people employed under
“ him,

“ him, said, “ We made Jaffier Al-
“ lee Cawn Nabob, and afterwards
“ turned him out again; and Cossim
“ Allee also, is one of our setting up,
“ and this dustuck, which you have
“ brought, we will pay no regard to.”
“ That with such insults they kept him
“ three days in confinement, but the
“ hircarra escaping, carried this news
“ to Jessarut Cawn, and Mahomed Al-
“ lee Beg; that soon after, in conse-
“ quence of a letter from the Governor
“ of Calcutta, to the chief there, he
“ was sent with Golam Ahmud to me.

AT the time the chief aforesaid had confined my yessawal, with all this ignominy and ill treatment, how did Mahomed Allee Beg know that he would release him after three days, and send him to me? Had not your letter arrived, he never would have released my yessawal. It was in consequence of the account of the hircarra, that Jessarut Cawn, and Mahomed Allee Beg, wrote me the particulars of my yessawal's confinement. As you are a wise man, weigh well the

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behavior

behavior of the English and my officers, and judge which side is injured, and who are the persons that act contrary to our agreement, and secretly spread infamous and injurious reports to the prejudice of men of character.

To conclude, how many fleets of boats are there at Patna ! Yet cannot I get so much as a single boat to cross the Ganges ; and the very boats that I had procured, the people of your factory there have forcibly taken from me."

THE Nabob's letters of the 26th of February having been read in Council the 7th of March, it was resolved, that the following answer should be wrote him by me as President.

The Governor's Letter to the Nabob.

" I HAVE received your letters of the 26th of February, which having read to the gentlemen of Council, they agree with me in opinion, that there appears throughout a general disinclination to give us any satisfaction for the interruptions

ruptions and ill usage which the business of the English Company and gentlemen has received from Mahomed Allee, and other officers of your government; and that both your letters seem on the whole rather an evasion, than an answer to my representations. I am therefore now, in my own name, and in the name of the gentlemen of Council, to give you the following account of what has been hitherto resolved on by us. The Firmaun, and other public orders of the Court, together with the subsequent treaties with the Nabobs, having been referred to, and strictly examined, we find that the English, having the Company's dustuck, are thereby entitled to carry on their trade, as well foreign as inland, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, duty free. By the tenor of them therefore the Council are determined to abide. We have however taken information of the custom that has hitherto prevailed in the different parts of the country, with respect to the English paying a duty on certain articles of inland trade, and from

these we learn, that the articles of salt and tobacco are the only ones which have paid such duty ; and that the latter article has paid it only at the factories of Luckypoor and Dacca. This being the case, and as we do not mean to break entirely through this established custom, although the aforementioned grants give us a full sanction to trade duty free, we have determined, that a consideration shall continue to be paid to your government on salt, after the rate of two and half *per cent.* as will be explained to you by Mr. Amyatt *, and the method of collecting it settled by him. With respect to our gomastahs, we cannot admit, that they shall be under any actual controul of the officers of your government ; but we have laid down certain regulations, whereby to restrain them from committing injuries, or abuses on the country people, as well as to direct them to make their complaint to the chief of the factory, in case of receiving any from
your

* Who was at the same consultation appointed to carry the resolutions of the Board to the Nabob.

your officers or dependents ; and the said chief will take the necessary measures for putting a stop to them.

COPIES of the Firmaun, husbulhookums and treaties, together with the rules for collecting the aforesaid duty on salt, and guiding the conduct of our gomastahs and your officers, will be sent to you by Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay, whom myself, with the Council, have thought proper to depute, to explain to you more fully the justice of those rights and pretensions.

WITH respect to the complaints which have already been made, we do insist on justice against all those officers of the government, who may be proved guilty of the extortions and obstructions laid to their charge ; and that reparation shall be made for the losses occasioned thereby.

ON the other hand, all the complaints made by your officers in different parts of the country against English agents or gomastahs, have been referred to the examination of the gentlemen of the factories, nearest to those places from whence

the complaints have come; and whatever injustice it may appear they have committed, we shall be particularly careful to cause them to make amends for."

THIS letter, as I have before observed, was to be wrote him by me as President, which was the usual form of the country correspondence; but Mr. Johnstone, for fear the Nabob might not yet be sufficiently convinced of the authority of the Council, moved, that a letter should be wrote him by the whole Board, to inform him, that all power belonged to them. This motion was overruled by the majority, who thought it sufficient, that an addition should be made to the foregoing letter upon that subject. The following are the proceedings in this debate, and the additional paragraphs which were drawn up in consequence.

Extract of Consultation of March 7, 1763.

Mr. Johnstone's Minute.

“ **M**R. JOHNSTONE moves, that a letter should now be wrote by the Board to the Nabob, in answer to the first of his three demands, explaining to him the powers of the Council ; that it is with them in fact he acts, altho' their opinion is transmitted thro' the channel of the President ; and that therefore he should consider them in the first degree. Further, that in it the Governor's letter, containing the regulations, should be re-demanded ; and that the letters now sent should be signed by the Board, and sealed with the Company's seal.

THE secretary being directed to collect the opinions of the Board on this motion of Mr. Johnstone's, the several members delivered the same as follows.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

MR. WATTS is of opinion, that a paragraph should be inserted in the letter to be wrote to the Nabob, explaining to him the powers of the Board ; and that the letter sent by Mr. Vansittart to
the

the Nabob, should be demanded back as from the Board; but that the letter now sent be forwarded under the President's seal.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

MR. MARRIOTT is of the same opinion with Mr. Watts.

Mr. Hay's Opinion.

MR. HAY thinks, that the explanation regarding the powers of the Council, should be made to the Nabob in a public letter, agreeable to Mr. Johnstone's motion; but that the demand for the letter containing the regulations, should be made in a letter under the President's seal.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

THE Company have plainly declared their intention, that all correspondence with the country powers shall be carried on thro' the channel of the Governor; and as an alteration of this custom will subject the Nabob (who has not been used to such a method, nor can be a judge of the propriety of it) to great perplexities, and tend to create a breach between

us, I object to any letter being wrote to the Nabob, but with the President's seal.

As to an explanation of the powers of the Board, the Nabob to my knowledge is well acquainted with them, nor is such an information in any wise necessary.

It is also unnecessary to demand back the Governor's letter to the Nabob, as it will of course be annulled by the new regulations.

Messrs. Cartier and Billers's Opinion.

MESSIEURS Cartier and Billers are of the same opinion with Mr. Watts.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

MR. BATSON agrees with Mr. Johnstone in opinion, that the authority of the Board should be asserted, and the Governor's written agreement be demanded back; and that it is the interest of the publick, that the correspondence should be carried on by the Board.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

MAJOR CARNAC is of opinion, that the Nabob either does not, or will not, understand the powers of the Board;
and

and therefore they ought to be so explained to him, as to admit of no dispute ; which cannot be done any way so effectually, as by a letter wrote under the publick seal, as proposed by Mr. Johnstone in his minute ; and that in the same letter, the Governor's, containing the regulations should be demanded back.

Mr. Amyatt's Opinion.

MR. AMYATT is of Mr. Watts's opinion.

Major Adams's Opinion.

MAJOR ADAMS is of opinion, that the Nabob's letters should be answered, by the President, in the name of the Board, under his own seal, which with the purport of the letter, will sufficiently convince the Nabob, that the power is lodged in the majority of the Council ; and he thinks the re-demanding the letter, will more properly become a part of the instructions to Mes. Amyatt and Hay.

The President's Opinion.

THE President observes, that he had already explained to the Nabob, more than
than

than once, the powers of the Board, when he wrote the letter in question; but that as the Nabob now affects to be insensible of the powers of the Board; and instead of complying with his agreement, endeavors to make the worst use possible of the letter, he thinks he should be wrote to in the terms proposed by Mr. Johnstone; but that it should be wrote, in the usual manner, through the channel of the President, as any other method is contrary to the Company's standing orders, as well as detrimental to their affairs.

THE majority of the Board being of Mr. Watts's opinion;

ORDERED, that two additional paragraphs, expressing the sense thereof, be added to the letter, which is above-directed to be wrote to the Nabob by the President; that the whole letter be drawn up by the secretary, from the resolutions of Council; and when approved by the members, be sent to the translator, with directions to render it into Persian, applying to the President for the moonshee, who

who usually writes the letters for that purpose."

*Copy of the additional Paragraph to the
Letter to the Nabob.*

"**Y**OU mention in your letter, that it has been customary for the Subahs of these provinces, to negotiate only with the Governor; and that you also have done heretofore, according to that custom, and that you will not negotiate with any of the gentlemen of Council. In answer to which, I must acquaint you, that although it is very true, negotiations with the Subahs are carried on by the Governor only, yet that, and all other business, depends upon the opinion and determination of the Governor and Council together; and, in this manner, affairs being considered and resolved on, the Governor is only the channel through which it is made known to the Subahs, of which also you cannot but be sensible, as I have often acquainted you with it before. It is very
true,

true, that the regulations of trade, agreed on between you and me, are not approved of by the Council, and therefore cannot take place ; and further, the ill behavior, and violent oppressions, committed by your officers in all parts, by an abuse of the authority granted them by that agreement, are so notorious and insupportable, that if they are not put an immediate stop to, the friendship between us will be broken ; and, as it is to be feared, they will continue to act in the same manner, until they are acquainted from you, that the intended agreement is annulled ; I desire you will send back that letter to me, and acquaint your officers, in all parts, that you have so returned it."

THE obvious tendency of this motion points out, but too plainly, the factious spirit which dictated it. Since nothing could have so effectually convinced the Nabob, of the weakness of our government, and the power of his enemies ; besides, that by claiming his acknowledgment

ledgment of an authority, to which he had never hitherto been accustomed ; and by throwing the correspondence into a new channel, which he knew to be contrary to the rules of our government, a snare was laid to aggravate the disputes, by his disowning that authority, or by the perplexity which it must of course lead him into, was he even inclined to comply with it.

THE disputes were now risen to such an height, that it became necessary, either to put an end to them, by a peaceable negotiation, or declare an open war against the Nabob. The former expedient was preferred ; and it was agreed, that one of the members of the Board, should go on a deputation to the Nabob, and treat with him upon the terms of our future alliance. Mr. Amyatt offered himself for this service, which was unanimously accepted ; and, at his own request, Mr. Hay was afterwards joined with him, in the same commission, which was to take place as soon as the Nabob, who

who was immediately acquainted with it, would signify his approbation of it.

ABOUT this time, we received a letter from the Chief and Council at Patna, advising us, that the Nabob was returned from his Napaul expedition, in which he had been defeated; and that he had crossed the river, and lay encamped at Jaffier Cawn's garden, about two miles from the city.

It was now resolved, that a letter should be wrote to the Nabob, insisting on a positive answer, to the demands made by the Board, for his annulling the orders, which he had given to his officers. In the mean time, those orders subsisting, and the unlimited powers, given to the subordinate factories, were productive of daily disturbances, the natural consequences of jealousies, inflamed to the highest pitch on both sides. From Dacca advices arrived, of a fray between the officers of the government, and a party of seepoys dispatched to release some boats that had been stopped at Jaffier Gunge, in which, the brother

of the chokeydar was slain, or dangerously wounded; and, on the same day, a letter from the gentlemen of Patna, informed us of their having sent an officer, with three companies of seepoys, to Mow, to free the business of the factory, which had received some interruption at that place, and to seize the persons concerned in it. This the officer effected, taking Akbur Allee Cawn, the Nabob's collector, prisoner, whom he carried to Patna, and left a guard of twelve seepoys at Taajepoor, to take care of the Company's salt-petre. The Nabob, incensed at this outrage, committed almost before his eyes, in the first impulse of his passion, sent out a party of 500 horse to intercept the seepoys, and release his officer; but arriving too late for this service, they marched against the small detachment at Taajepoor, and attacked it. The seepoys defended themselves with great bravery, but four of the number being killed, the rest submitted, and were carried, with the Company's gomastah, prisoners before the Nabob,

Nabob, who contented himself with reprimanding the gomastah, for being the instrument of such an insult on his dignity, and dismissed them.

THE Nabob's behavior, upon this occasion, shews how much he was irritated by it; and, at the same time, how careful he was, even upon the greatest provocation, to avoid coming to extremities. The hircarras, or other busy people, about the factory, took occasion, upon this event, to carry news to Mr. Ellis, that the Nabob was resolved to march back immediately from Ponarac, where he then lay encamped, and attack the factory. Mr. Ellis, whose animosity against the Nabob, and wishes for a rupture, made him give easy credit to every such report, spread their intelligence without delay; we were informed of it by the Chief and Council at Patna, in their letter of the 15th, and of their own resolution in that case, to possess themselves of the city. This I now daily expected to hear of, for I but too plainly saw, that Mr. Ellis sought only

a pretence to commence open hostilities ; but the present occasion was happily removed by the Nabob's prudence, in proceeding directly to Mongheer, where he arrived soon after.

THE letters from Mr. Ellis and the Council of Patna, and those from the Nabob, upon the above transactions, tho' little differing in the relation of the plain matters of fact, I shall notwithstanding insert, as they contain the most evident marks of the disposition of each at this time.

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Governor and Council. Dated March 6, 1763.

“ WE now enclose you translate of a letter from the Company's gomastah at Mow, which will give you a pretty just idea of what lengths the Nabob intended proceeding to, and how greatly he would have distressed our affairs, had he not been timely checked.

EARLY this morning we detached three companies of seepoys to Mow, under
the

the command of lieutenant Downie, with orders to clear the Company's business in that district, and seize all those who have interrupted it, agreeable to your directions. We beg your further orders with regard to punishing them, and cannot help observing, how necessary it is that some examples should be made, in order to put an effectual stop to this growing evil.

THE Nabob marched two days ago from Jaffier Cawn's garden, and is now encamped near Futtuah."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated March 5, 1763.

"I HAVE had the pleasure duly to receive three of your favors, dated the 7th and 8th of Shaaban, and understand the particulars mentioned in them.

AT a time when this government was loaded with a balance of revenues due to the King, the arrears of the troops, and debts owing to the English, I marched out of Bengal, and repaired to the extremity of the province of Bahar, in or-

der to settle these matters. That country being thus left without a ruler, every village and district became ruined by the oppressions of the English agents and gomastahs, an entire stop was put to collecting the revenues, and the merchants, and the poor, and all my officers, and muttasfeddees of the public and private receipts of custom, were distressed, and deprived of their daily bread ; and I am a sufferer in the revenues due to my administration, by near a crore of rupees. I have in the mean while made continual complaints and representations of this injustice, and informed you particularly and circumstantially of all matters : nevertheless you have been pleased to observe, that my officers are to blame.

WHEN you favoured me with a visit at Mongheer, I laid before you all my concerns. You were very earnest in settling all disputes between my government, and the English Company and gentlemen, and their gomastahs : and you in some measure comforted me, and persuaded me, that “ from that time business would
“ be

“ be carried on in a proper manner, and my
“ government neither injured, oppressed,
“ or damaged.” Afterwards, on your return
to Calcutta, contrary to your agreement
with me, you detached forces, to carry
on the business of the Company and Eng-
lish gentlemen by compulsion, and to
beat and chastise my officers if they of-
fered to speak a word. For these three
years I have not got a single rupee, nor
a thousand rupees ; nor one piece, nor ten
pieces of cloth ; nor a bundle of broad
cloth, nor ten bundles ; nor a pair of scis-
sars, nor so much as a clasp knife, from the
English gentlemen, or their gomastahs ;
at the same time, they have by violence
levied fines and penalties, and sums for
losses in their trade, on my officers, and
still continue to levy them ; and if any of
my officers refuses to submit to this, they
pour a storm of complaints on his head.

LATELY you have repeatedly ordered
me, “ to let the business of the Com-
“ pany, and the English gentlemen, and
“ their gomastahs, go on as was custo-
“ mary heretofore in the different parts
“ of the provinces of Bengal and Bahar ;

“ to suffer the money and bullion of
“ your factories to be coined into ficas
“ in my mints ; and to have the wicket
“ and intrenchment in the city of Patna
“ opened.” I not having it in my power
to refuse, have given you the free use of
my mint, and directed the wicket to be
opened, and a stop to be put to collect-
ing customs upon traffick in the com-
modities of my country, from all mer-
chants, pykars, and dilolls, in the pro-
vinces of Bahar and Bengal ; and I have
had all gauts and chokeys, both in the
city and country round about, entirely
removed.

ALL these my losses, are owing en-
tirely to the favor and indulgence of the
Council ; because that my being like the
Nabob Meer Jaffier indebted to his Ma-
jesty, and embarrassed by my troops, and
reduced to his situation, is what they ap-
prove of. However, I can never approve
of my people and merchants being dis-
tressed, my country oppressed, myself
despised, and subjected to daily insults,
and my officers and servants ill treated.
I have therefore chosen to give up all
those

those points to you. Now I am in expectation of your answer, to inform me if my life is safe; or if there is any thing else to be done?"

*From the Nabob to the Governor, dated
March 5, 1763.*

“ **Y**OUR friendly letter, dated the 8th of Shaaban, is arrived, and I am happy with the news of your welfare.

You write, that the opinion of the Council is as follows. “ They are all very desirous of assisting and supporting me in my government, but cannot bear with patience, that my officers should impede or damage their commerce; that the report of your setting up another Nabob is the weak insinuation of designing men; that the resolution of the Board is, to make such an agreement in pursuance of the royal Firmaun, and the rules of equity, as may leave no room for dispute in future, between my officers and their gomastahs.” How can I bring myself firmly to credit this, since Mr. Ellis
is

is one of the Council, who, for these two years past, has been endeavoring all in his power to hurt my affairs, and make me appear little in the eyes of the world; nay, is at this time taking pains daily to involve me in trouble, parading his companies of seepoys to provoke me; and omitting no opportunity of depreciating me both in this my own country, and to Shuja-ul Dowla, and other great men at court, sending all whatever he can devise to my discredit, by means of Shitabroy to Shuja-ul Dowla, &c. and saying also whatever comes uppermost in his mind to my prejudice in public assemblies?

IN regard to what you write concerning the royal Firmaun, and your having in view the preparation of another treaty; when you favored me with your company at Mongheer, I told your frequently, that “the power of your people was
“ great, but I had little to oppose it. I
“ desired you to consider, nor entertain
“ the notion, that any agreement would
“ be binding with people accustomed to
“ acts of oppression.” Is not this an instance

stance of oppression, that the salt-petre farms, which I have allowed unto you gentlemen, upon the produce of which you used to pay formerly three, and three and half rupees *per* maund, you now forcibly hold at one and three-fourth of a rupee, plundering and injuring my people? In this manner my country is to go to ruin, and I may not utter a word. Besides all this, you write, that it is my own officers who create these disturbances, exercise oppression, and injure the salt-petre farm. This being the case, how can any treaty stand good between us? And how can it take effect, if such oppression continues? Besides, as you have dispatched the Company's troops to chastise my officers, if they but murmur at these evils, why need you trouble yourselves to make any other treaty? In my service, there is not one who can prejudice me against you in any affair. Under you there is Mr. Ellis, who fails not to prejudice you with evil insinuations against me, as you must see and be sensible, tho' you connive at it, and say nothing on
the

the subject ; but you are pleased to think (I do not know upon what grounds) that I have evil-minded people in my service.

I AM at loss how to act under these censures, and must own myself insufficient, if regulations of this nature take place. Be pleased, therefore, to set me free from the uneasinesses of such an administration ; and set up a person for conducting it, whom the Council may better approve.

FULL well I know, that they will both condemn me, and injure your good name, and bring this about at last. Why do they wait for a charge against me ? It is not the part of honest men, to bring an unjust charge against any one, with a view to compass other designs ; it is better that you do it at this time."

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna, to the Governor and Council. Dated March 12, 1763.

"THE following is an extract of a letter, from lieutenant Downie to the Chief, received last night. " I
" have

“ have the pleasure to acquaint you, that
“ I have just now seized Meer Acbur
“ Allee, whom I shall send to you ; I
“ have likewise taken possession of the
“ salt-petre he seized from the Compa-
“ ny, and that which he collected from
“ his pergunah, and shall have it carri-
“ ed to Mow as soon as possible. I will
“ now proceed to Durbunghy, to catch
“ the other opposer of the Company’s
“ trade.”

MEER ACBUR ALLEE arrived here about noon, under the charge of a subahdar, and 50 seepoys ; we have called him before us, and the excuse he makes for his violent proceedings, is, that he was setting up to act as the Company’s gomastah. We again repeat our request, that you will favor us with your orders, what we are to do with this man, or any other, who may act in the like manner.”

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Governor and Council. Dated March 15, 1763.

“ **W**E acquainted you the 12th, that lieutenant Downie had
made

made Meer Acbur Allee a prisoner, and taken possession of the Company's petre at Taajepoor, where he left it in charge of a havaldar, a naick, and twelve see-poys, till it should be removed to the factory at Mow. This party was attacked by a body of 500 horse, sent for that purpose from the Nabob's camp, by whom four of them have been killed, three wounded, and the remainder, with the Company's gomastah, carried prisoners to the Nabob. The Nabob has halted at Ponarac, and we have intelligence, that he proposes returning here to attack us. Should he carry his threats into execution, we shall immediately possess ourselves of the city, as the most effectual means of rendering his evil designs abortive."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated March 11, 1763.

"**Y**OUR two favors are arrived, and have rejoiced me. You write, " that Mr. Middleton, who resides at " Luckypoor, wrote a letter to you, and " the

“ the rest of the Council ; that you have
“ sent me a translation thereof, with
“ copies of the letters which Aca Ma-
“ homed Nizam, and Syed Ruddul Cawn
“ wrote to the said gentleman, and o-
“ thers. That Golam Hossein is a
“ moonshee of the Company’s factory,
“ and Mahomed Gazy, collector of the
“ Company’s taalook, annexed to Lucky-
“ poor; that now Mahomed Allee wants
“ to plunder the officers aforesaid, and
“ seize their persons ; that it has been
“ always an established rule, that the
“ servants of the Company remain at
“ the disposal, and in the possession
“ of the Company ; and Mahomed Al-
“ lee Beg wants to break through it ;
“ that the said taalook has been in the
“ possession of the Company, from the
“ time of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn.
“ Moreover, that Cootub Aalum, my
“ officer at Rajemahl, wrote a letter to
“ Mr. George Gray, a copy of which
“ you have also sent ; that he, in like
“ manner, wants to seize upon the Com-
“ pany’s taalook, and to remove the ba-
“ zar

“ zar of the factory ; that you have
 “ sent me a copy of the letter you wrote
 “ to him ; that you are desirous of a stop
 “ being put to these disputes ; and that
 “ the business of both our governments
 “ may be carried on in a proper man-
 “ ner ; but it is daily disturbed by the
 “ villainous proceedings of my officers,
 “ particularly Mahomed Allee Beg ;
 “ further, that Syed Jelaul Bocary stops
 “ your boats laden with salt, and demands
 “ extraordinary duties upon them.”

THE translated copies of Mr. Middleton's letters are arrived, and I fully understand the purport of them.

SINCE all this wrangling on the part
 of the gentlemen has arisen on account
 of duties, I have, for that reason, put a
 stop to the collecting of duties, and cus-
 toms, in all districts of the provinces,
 subject to me, as well as to coining of
 money in all my mints ; I have also had
 the wicket in Patna opened, as I before
 wrote for your information. Now that
 you are pleased to write complaints against
 Mahomed Allee Beg, I have removed
 him

him from Dacca, and sent for him hither ; so you may chuse whom you will, amongst the Europeans, to take the management of Dacca. Although Mahomed Allee Beg has neither plundered any one, nor placed guards upon the house of one individual ; yet to put an end to all the blame which you heap upon me, I have sent for him hither. But Ellis is he who has twice committed these disturbances, and not long since placed a guard upon my own dwelling, I mean the fort of Mongheer ; and, at this very time, has detached three companies of seepoys, and two pieces of cannon, with intent to seize my officers, and has actually surrounded the fort of Taajepoor. I know not the reason of all these insults from the said Ellis, nor will I put up with such violent proceedings from him, wherefore I have written as much for your information."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated March 14, 1763.

" **I**T has been owing solely to the friendship and regard which I bear

to you, that I have hitherto constantly born in my mind, the marks of your favor; and, for the friendship and kindness which you have shewn to me, I have put up with every thing until now, that my patience is quite exhausted. Whatever is to be done, do you, Sir, do it yourself; why should you cause my authority to be insulted, and my honor injured, by your servants, and people of low character? One man may easily continue in friendship to one man; but to be dependent upon ten people, is beyond the power of man.

I HAVE, in no wise, been deficient in the observance of the treaties which you made with me, but, from the beginning, have scrupulously complied with all my agreements.

AT this time, that you have been pleased to write to me to keep open the wicket, and entrenchment in the city of Patna, and for trade to go on as usual, I paid all due respect to your letter, and immediately complied with its contents. I had sent for Mahomed Allee Beg

Beg from Dacca, and I was on my way from Patna towards Rajemahl, and had reached Barr, when Mr. Ellis sent three companies of seepoys, with two guns, in order to surround my fortrefs of Taa-jepoor, besides other companies towards Durbunga, Mow, Teegra, Sircar Sarum, Tekarry, and other districts in different parts of the province, by which my affairs have been so much hurt, that an entire stop is put to the collection of my revenues.

I KNEW not in what light to consider all these disturbances, plunderings and ravages ; so, upon information of this news, I dispatched Mahomed Ameen Cawn, one of my jemmatdars, towards Taa-jepoor, that he might enquire particularly, and bring me intelligence of the cause of so much disorder. He had not reached the place, before the companies above-mentioned had taken hold of Acbur Allee, Naib of Sheer Zaman, my aumil at Taa-jepoor, and carried him away to Patna. My jemmatdar wrote me these particulars ; in answer to

which, I sent him orders to bring your gomastah, residing at the factory of Taajepoor to me, that I might enquire of him, why my aumil had been seized and carried away.

WHEN Mahomed Ameen Cawn drew nigh to the factory, your seepoys there, by order of the gomastah, fired upon him without challenging him. My jemmatdar, having no other resource, made use of the force that he had, seized your gomastah, and brought him to me. I examined into this affair in the best manner, and then dismissed your gomastah. I found from him, that my aumil was by no means in fault; but Ellis, having fixed the blame of all these tumults and disorders upon my aumils, under pretence of the salt-petre, merely from his own hatred to me, and violence of temper, has created these disturbances, and perseveres in them. You wrote me heretofore, that by keeping the wicket in the city of Patna shut, a report would in all probability prevail amongst the people, that the Company and I were

at

at variance. Ellis for two years past has been making all these disturbances, in order to demean me, and injure my affairs. Ought I not to be informed, how I am to consider these proceedings, and what is the reason of them? You are my friend, bound to free me from all these insults, which I never can bear with. Since the said gentleman has proceeded to acts of violence against my officers, should my officers, for the sake of their characters, stand upon the defensive, you are not to reproach me with it; but if you are inclined to allow of Mr. Ellis's actions, you will do well to give the country to him, that you and I may be freed from the vexations of it; for I am convinced, that the Council will not put an end to these disputes.

I HAVE halted here at Barr two days, on account of this affair; to-morrow I shall march towards Mongheer.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated March 15, 1763.

“ I HAVE been favored with your letter, together with copies of a per-

wannah to Mahomed Allee Beg, and other papers. You write, “that Mr. Senior paid
 “ the duties upon 4000 maunds of salt at the
 “ Shahbunder, took a pass, and dispatched
 “ his salt; but Syed Jelaul Bocary stop-
 “ ped it, and required a further duty up-
 “ on it. That at Rungpoor, a duty is de-
 “ manded upon all kinds of goods; upon
 “ which account, the business of the
 “ English gentlemen, and their gomastahs,
 “ is entirely stopped. That at
 “ Shewgunge, belonging to Dinagepoor,
 “ Ramnaut, my Naib there, has col-
 “ lected money, under pretence of a tax,
 “ for the support of poor and indigent
 “ people. That Roy Mohunloll, aumil
 “ of Bahar, demands a duty upon opi-
 “ um. That as your gomastahs, about
 “ Rangamettee, are distressed through
 “ a scarcity of provisions, you have sent
 “ some seepoys thither, to bring Syed
 “ Jelaul Bocary to you.”

FROM the beginning to this time I have looked upon myself as obliged to you; and have assented to every thing you either spoke, wrote, or negotiated with

with me, upon any affair whatever. I have to preserve the friendship between us, put an entire stop to the collection of all kinds of duties, and customs upon merchandize, as well inland as foreign, both from you and the rest of the English gentlemen; and all other people both great and small; nay, tho' it was plainly to the detriment of my affairs, yet to avoid all disputes between your government and mine, I have shut up all my mints; and I have likewise sent for Mahomed Allee Beg from Dacca. Now you will please to consider if you have spoken, or written to me, upon any other matter, that I have not complied with.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this that I have done to preserve your esteem, and although you have expressed the sincerest friendship, and regard for me, yet your sending seepoys to seize my officers and bring them to you, will convince all mankind, what solid foundation the friendship and love between us is built upon. These kinds of reports may be

suitable to your intentions, but they are by no means agreeable to mine.

I TOLD you face to face, and have written again and again to you, that on account of the difference of disposition, betwixt me and the English gentlemen ; I looked upon myself as insufficient for this employment ; accordingly, it were much better, that in the same manner as they gave it once to me, they now deliver it over to whomsoever they may think proper.

IT is very far from the character becoming you, to write me letters breathing nothing but friendship ; and, at the same time, to give ear to the unjust reports of your own people, and take steps towards a rupture.

IF you are willing to shew yourself a friend, immediately order back Syed Jelaul Bocary, to his own district ; and break not up the foundation of our friendship ; in doing which, by the by, you are not backward ; since, I think there is no great favor in sending your seepoys against my officers, and in writing
ing

ing to me on such subjects. If you are still resolved to make use of forces, do not write to me, for I will not return you an answer upon such matters.

In the Nabob's own Hand.

SUCH disturbances as the English have set on foot, were never known in any government, till the time of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn; that they should send seepoys and seize the officers of the government, and carry them away; at the same time, that the Nazim was looking on, without taking notice of it. All my forbearance has been owing entirely to the friendship between you and me. If the English gomastahs will carry on their trade, according to the custom practised by other merchants, it is well. If not, I have no resource, but to make use, as you do, of expressions tending to dissolve our friendship. My reputation and honor are dearer to me than life. If you are inclined to let friendship subsist between us, you ought to lay aside these disturbances and altercations, which must produce a rupture; and if
you

you are inclined to break with me, let me know it immediately, that I may have nothing further to do with these things, for I can bear them no longer."

THE Nabob's letters of the 11th, 14th, and 15th of March, having been read in Council, the 24th, it was resolved, that the following answer should be wrote him by me as President.

Copy of the Letter to the Nabob. Dated March 24, 1763.

"I HAVE received your letters of the 11th, 14th, and 15th instant. With regard to the interruptions of our trade, and the disputes which have happened between the dependents of your government and ours; our original orders were to apply to you, and your officers, for redress, on any occasion of complaint on our part; but this was so often done without effect, that finding the interruptions and disturbances daily increase, insomuch that our business was, in most parts, put an entire stop to; we had no
remedy

remedy left to make use of, but that of force, to free our business; and therefore, disagreeable as it was to us, we were obliged to give such orders to all the factories, of which you have been before duly advised.

WHAT Mr. Ellis has done in the Patna province, for clearing the Company's business, was agreeable to the said orders, sent him by the Board; and I must here particularly observe, with respect to that gentleman's not applying to you for redress on any occasion, that you have absolutely put it out of his power, by declaring, that you would not answer any of his letters, and having really left unanswered four which he actually wrote you.

I do not find that you have yet given orders to any of your officers to forbear from obstructing our business, as they still continue to do it, to the utmost of their power, excepting in those places where our troops are actually stationed for its protection; when you have given such orders as shall put an end to those
obstruc-

obstructions, we, on our part, will not interfere with your officers, or the affairs of your government.

I HAVE wrote you before of our resolutions and demands, and now I again acquaint you, that we shall insist upon a compliance with them in every point. Myself, as well as the Council, are heartily resolved to support you in your government, and all its rights; but if you oppose our people in the execution of orders, which we have authorized, and with which you have been acquainted, we shall look upon such a conduct as an open declaration of war; but to shew you our earnest desire to prevent such an event, we continue in our resolution to send to you Mr. Amyatt (who will be accompanied by Mr. Hay) for the purpose we have before wrote you, as soon as we shall receive your answer to that letter.

I MUST in this letter take notice of two particular phrases, that you make use of, *servants* and *men of low character*. I am very unwilling to suppose you could,
by

by such unbecoming expressions, mean the gentlemen of Council; but they with me insist upon an explanation, as we will by no means suffer ourselves to be treated with disrespect."

IN my letter to the Board from Mongheer, which contained the regulations made with the Nabob, I mentioned a resolution expressed by him, to abolish all duties whatever in his dominions, to avoid the daily disputes between our people and his officers, who collected them. This he now actually put in execution, as appears by some of the foregoing letters. It was known at Calcutta by private advices, before the receipt of those letters, and became the subject of a fresh dispute, which was opened by Mr. Johnstone in consultation, the 22d of March. As all the arguments on this subject are fully stated in the minutes entered upon it, by the several members of the Board, I shall only enter those minutes, adding, that it was resolved upon, by a great majority, that this exemption was a breach
of

of the Company's privileges; and that the Nabob should be positively required to recall it; and collect duties as before from the country merchants, and all other persons who had not the protection of the Company's dustuck.

Mr. Johnstone's Minute.

“ No public advices having been yet received from the Chief and Council at Patna; and the instructions for Mef. Armyatt and Hay being now lying for consideration; Mr. Johnstone begs leave to deliver in copies of sunnuds, issued at Patna, &c. by the Nabob, received in private letters, ordering an exemption to all merchants from duties of every kind on their trade for two years. As this proceeding appears destructive to the Company's royal privileges and rights, Mr. Johnstone thinks it merits the consideration of the Board, to concert measures to prevent this injurious attempt of the Nabob, which he conceives beyond his authority as a Subah, raised and supported by us, without any revocation of our grants, by the King himself; and
that

that we neither can, nor ought to admit of it, consistently with the trust reposed in us by the Company, while they have placed the means of supporting their rights in our hands.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

“MR. WATTS is of opinion, that the Nabob's taking off duties on all goods, must be highly detrimental to the Company's trade ; that it is a step he, as Subah of Bengal, has no authority to do without permission from the Mogul ; and as the Mogul has always deemed the English, in a much superior light to the Nabob, he thinks it is incumbent on them to insist, that the duties be collected from other merchants as formerly, otherwise our privileges, granted to us by the Firmaun, &c. will be entirely overfet.”

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

“MR. MARRIOTT thinks, that the Nabob, in issuing out the late perwannah to take off duties from all trade, has acted quite contrary to the Company's interest ; and must, if not put a stop to, prevent

prevent our procuring the usual investment, as the goods in consequence will be dearer, the quantity smaller, and the quality much inferior.

THAT this order appears to have been done with a design to prejudice the English affairs in this country as much as possible, as the rights and privileges we hold over other European nations; and the natives of this country, are now become void, and what has cost the Company so great an expence of blood and treasure, is now rendered of no signification.

THAT the making our Firmaun privilege of no effect, which he has done by this order, is the same as if he had entirely prevented us trading with a Company's dustuck, and demanded duties as he has lately done.

THAT we ought, at all rates, to insist on his recalling these orders, and should he refuse, look upon it as a downright declaration against the Company's interest, and act with him as an infringer of our rights."

Mr.

Mr. Hay's Opinion.

IT appears to Mr. Hay, that the Nabob's remitting the duties on the whole trade of these provinces for two years, is done with no other design, than to prejudice the affairs of the English, and render of as little use as possible, the privileges they enjoy by the grants they are possessed of; and that this step has been pointed out to him by the Armenians, or some others, whose interest it is, that the English should be loaded with that, more than double custom of nine *per cent.* in hopes that the Company, within the space of two years, may, from an apprehension of their own trade being hurt, order that this extravagant duty should be paid, or that the inland trade should not be carried on by their servants. The Nabob will be no loser by this measure, for he will undoubtedly, at the end of the two years, make the merchants answerable to him for the duties on the goods, in which they trade in the interim. This is the beginning of a game that will, no doubt, if a stop

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is not put to it, be continually played to the disadvantage of the English Company. Mr. Hay is therefore of opinion, that it should be made known to the Nabob, that we look on this measure as designed to prejudice the Company's affairs; and that we will not quietly see him proceed in measures, that can answer no other purpose than the oversetting our privileges.

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

I ENTIRELY agree with Mr. Hay's opinion. I have heard it urged, that the Nabob is master in his territories, and may therefore remit to his subjects any advantage accruing to his revenues, by duties collected in the country. To me it appears quite otherwise, nor can I conceive that the Nabob, whom we have raised to the Subahship, and have hitherto supported him in it by force of arms, in opposition to the King, can ever have thereby acquired a right to undermine, and entirely ruin, the rights and advantages, the Company, at an immense expence, obtained by grants from the sovereign

vereign of the kingdom, or by treaties with the foregoing Subahs ; all which this man has bound himself to maintain, and confirm to us in their fullest extent. Had such an attempt been made by Jaffier Allee Cawn, or Serajah Dowla, to render of no use and effect, the singular advantage our nation enjoyed, by the privilege of carrying on their trade under the dustuck ; surely, every one must have considered such proceedings as the plainest declaration of their enmity, ill-will, and fixed resolution to ruin our trade, superiority, and influence through the country, by reducing us on a footing with all other European or foreign traders, and even with the very Bengal inhabitants. I imagine, that no power we have been pleased to invest this Nabob with, can ever authorize him to take such a step, to the prejudice of the Company, or justify us to our employers, to permit it to take place. Nothing less than an order from the King at Delly, could claim our regard in this point ; and even that I believe the Company

would expect we should not comply with, till we had used every method in our power, for the preservation of their rights and immunities. The Nabob, after repeated attempts to burthen us with the exorbitant duty of nine *per cent.* on articles of our exports, as well as inland trade ; on finding the Board resolved to oppose it, and support the dustuck in its full extent, has now recourse to an exemption from all duties to other merchants, to invalidate our proceedings, in opposition to the late regulations ; but he may, with as great propriety, in regard to us, insist on the one as the other ; and our time and arguments will seem to have been employed to very little purpose indeed, if we allow him to elude them, and baffle us by such a proceeding. Nor can I imagine the necessity of Mes. Amyatt and Hay, now proceeding to explain our resolutions, and the extent of our privileges, while they are thus rendered of no effect ; till that demand therefore be revoked, by a previous application of the Board, any deputation

putation to him would appear to me rather hurtful than beneficial.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

MR. CARTIER esteems the copy of a sunnud, from Cossim Allee Cawn, to the Naib of Patna, directing him to lay open the trade of the country to the natives, &c. for the space of two years, free of all duties and taxes, purposely done to render void, and counteract those regulations we have been deliberating upon, for these last two months, for the better establishment of our particular privileges, and to set proper boundaries to our own, as well as the Nabob's power. That this grant will very materially affect the Honorable Company's investment in every branch, not only in point of price, but the amount of their order; that the former will be greatly enhanced, as the latter proportionably decreased, from the swarm of purchasers this indulgence must necessarily produce; and that the Honorable Company's particular privileges and grants, derived to them from the authority of the great Mogul,

will be rendered invalid, and of no consequence by this step; that we are strongly interested, from every motive of good and wise policy, to prevent the same from taking effect, more particularly as its taking place would overfet our influence, and ruin that distinguishing mark of favor, received from the Court of Delly. That if it be allowed a right inherent in the Nabob, to do as he pleases with the revenues of his country, and to shew all manner of indulgencies to his subjects; it will as naturally follow, that it becomes necessary in us, to prevent any innovation in his government, that must evidently be attended with bad consequences to the Honorable Company's affairs; he is therefore of opinion, that all possible endeavors should be tried to prevent this sunnud from taking effect; and that the methods necessary to be applied to answer this purpose, merit the consideration of the Board.

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

MR. BILLERS agrees entirely in opinion with Mr. Marriott.

Mr.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

THE Nabob's giving up the duties on all trade in the country, is evidently designed to undermine and destroy the privileges, which the English enjoy by the King's Firmaun ; and Mr. Batson thinks, that he has been encouraged in this, and several other schemes, prejudicial to the English, by a faction of Armenians and others, from private and corrupt views, and that therefore we should take the most effectual methods to prevent this scheme from taking place.

WHAT has been urged by some gentlemen, that the Nabob has a right to do what he pleases in his own country, would better become his vacckeels, than members of this Board.

MR. BATSON thinks we should oppose, to the utmost, all his attempts against the English interests.

Mr. Amyatt's Opinion.

MR. AMYATT coincides in opinion with Mes. Marriott and Hay.

The President's and Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

IN our letter to the Board, of the 15th of December, from Mongheer, it is noticed, that the Nabob had declared his resolution to take off all customs, and lay trade entirely open, in case the disputes between us, concerning the customs on the private inland trade, could not be amicably settled, and we insisted on carrying it on free of duties. The reasons he gave for this resolution are there mentioned, viz. “ That if we
“ thought our privileges extended so
“ far, and would carry on our trade in
“ all articles, free of customs, of course
“ the country merchants could have little share, and the duties proceeding
“ therefrom would be so inconsiderable, that he thought it would be
“ more for the advantage of his revenues, to encourage the merchants in
“ general, by an entire abolition of all
“ customs, which would remove at
“ once the principal cause of the disputes between him and us.” We added in the same letter, that we had dissuaded

suaded the Nabob from this measure, lest it should prejudice the Company's business, by enhancing the number of purchasers, and rendering the dustuck useless; and mentioned this as an argument, why we ought to consent to pay customs on our private inland trade, not to risk hurting the Company's interest, for our own particular advantage.

IT has however been determined by the majority of the Board, that we shall trade in all articles custom-free, as well from place to place in the country, in commodities produced in the country, as in foreign imports and commodities for exportation; which resolution being declared to the Nabob, he on his part has determined to take off customs in general, and lay trade entirely open.

WE cannot think him to blame in this proceeding, nor do we see how he could do otherwise. For altho' it may be for our interest to determine, that we will have all the trade in our hands, that we will employ our own people to make salt, take every article of the produce of
the

the country off the ground at the first hand, and afterwards send it where we please free of customs : we say, tho' it may be for our interest to make this unlimited use of our force, yet it is not to be expected the Nabob will join with us, in endeavoring to deprive every merchant of the country of the means of carrying on their business, which must undoubtedly soon be the case, if they are obliged to pay heavy duties, and we trade in every article on the footing beforementioned.

NEITHER in our opinion could the Nabob in such circumstances collect enough to pay the expence of the chokeys collectors, &c. so that trade would be liable to clogs and interruptions, without any benefit to the government. As to the Nabob's rights to lay trade open, it is our opinion, that the Nazim of every province has a right to do any thing for the relief of the merchants trading under his protection, without waiting an order from the Court.

BESIDES, there is at this time no Court nor King, nor has been for some years ;
and

and therefore the Nazims must of necessity manage their several governments, as they shall judge best for the general good.

AND if either the Nabob Serajah Dowla, Jaffier Allee Cawn, or Cossim Allee Cawn, have a right to give up to us those duties which their predecessors received, or permit us to trade in articles we were before excluded from, of course they have a right also to make regulations in favor of trade in general. We therefore think, that all we have to do on this occasion is, to take such precautions, as may prevent this order from prejudicing the Company's investments, by seeing that the weavers employed in that service are not engaged or taken away by other merchants, which is a right we have always exercised; and this being done, we hope the present regulation, instead of being a prejudice to the Company's business, may be an advantage to it, as well as to the country in general, by rendering the necessaries of life cheaper, and particularly those of the poorer sort, as rice, salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, &c.

Opinion

Opinion of the Majority.

IT being the opinion of the Board, that the revoking of the abovementioned funnud be a point insisted upon from the Nabob.

Resolution in Consequence.

AGREED, That an additional paragraph be added accordingly to the instructions given to Mess. Amyatt and Hay."

I HAVE before * taken notice of a prohibition of one of the Nabob's letters to Mahomed Allee, to take any duties from goods which had my dustuck, and of the advantage which Messieurs Johnstone and Hay took of that expression, to reflect upon me, as endeavoring to except my own trade from the tax levied on that of others. When the instructions to Mess. Amyatt and Hay came to be debated before the Board, it was moved in a minute of Mess. Johnstone and Hay, that they should be directed to enquire, whether any private agreement had been made between the Nabob and myself respecting my own trade. It will be sufficient

* See pag. 425, in Vol. II.

cient on this subject to enter their minute, and my own answer and observations on it.

Extract of Consultation of March 28, 1763.

Mess. Johnstone and Hay's Minute.

“ **M**ESSIEURS Johnstone and Hay propose, that it should be made an article in the instructions to Mess. Amyatt and Hay, to inquire of the Nabob what his meaning is, when he says, that Mr. Vansittart's own particular gomastah shall be excused the duty laid on the trade of the Company, from one part of the country to the other, in case they produce Mr. Vansittart's public or private duffuck; for as this affair now stands represented, it will appear, that a private agreement has been entered into between Mr. Vansittart and the Nabob, to put all that trade into Mr. Vansittart's hands, which the rest of the English were deprived of by the treaty laid before the Board; and as the order of the Nabob to Mahomed Allee appeared before the Board's disapprobation was known

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to the Nabob, consequently the Company will expect to have it enquired into.

The President's Minute.

THE President desires it may be minuted, that he is the first to desire such an enquiry may be made; and in the mean time, that he can refer to the papers he delivered into Council the first of February last, to prove that he was the first to give orders to his agents to pay the duties agreed on; and to that very letter * of the Nabob's to Mahomed Allee, read in consultation the 2d of March (from which those gentlemen have taken their observation) to prove, that his business was stopped as soon as others after the regulations, not only in his private inland trade, on which he agreed to pay nine *per cent.* duties; but also in the cloth trade provided for him by a dustuck: and it is in direct reference to this last circumstance that the Nabob says, “ if
“ the said gomastah has the Company's
“ or the Governor's own dustuck, you
“ are

* See the letter Vol. II. page 427, which is an answer to the Governor's complaint of some of his cloth being stopped.

“ are not to impede him.” As a further proof, that the President never desired any such order from the Nabob, he lays before the Board the following Extract of a letter which he wrote to the Nabob on the subject the 6th of March *. He concludes with observing, that as this is not the first instance of Mess. Johnstone and Hay’s endeavouring to scandalize his character, there is no room for being surprized at it.

ON the 30th of March I received two letters from the Nabob, complaining of the injuries done him by the Board, and the insults to which he was daily exposed, in very warm and expressive terms ; and the next day a letter arrived from the gentlemen at Patna, giving an account of a skirmish between fifty of our seepoys, and some of the Nabob’s people near Gyah. Those letters were as follow.

* See this extract in page 427. in Vol. II.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated March 22, 1763.

“ **Y**OUR agreeable letter, in answer to what I wrote you is arrived, and I understand the contents, viz. “ You
“ laid my two letters before the rest of
“ the Council, from the perusal of which,
“ it appeared to you, and the whole
“ Board, that notwithstanding all the
“ injury Mahomed Allee Beg, and o-
“ thers, had been the cause of, yet I am
“ unwilling to examine into it, and con-
“ cern myself in the clearing it up;
“ wherefore, you write me the parti-
“ culars of your resolves as follows.

“ You carefully perused the Royal
“ Firmaun, &c. from which you un-
“ derstand, that the English are to trade
“ with the Company’s dustuck duty-free
“ every where in ports, and also in in-
“ land places, by land and by water,
“ throughout the provinces of Bengal,
“ Bahar and Orissa. The approved and
“ steady resolution of the whole Board
“ upon which, is to act agreeably to the
“ Firmaun and your sunnuds.

“ But

“ BUT in examining this matter you
“ observed, that upon some certain ar-
“ ticles, it was customary in some cer-
“ tain places, to give a certain confi-
“ ration ; upon tobacco in two places,
“ namely, Dacca and Luckypoor ; nei-
“ ther you, nor the rest of the Council,
“ are desirous of annulling an establish-
“ ed rule ; and upon salt, you will let
“ me have two and a half *per cent*.

“ SHOULD my officers injure the Eng-
“ lish gomastahs, the English gomastahs
“ are to represent their grievances to the
“ chief of a factory, which he is to de-
“ termine without favor or affection.

“ ALL losses that have arisen to the
“ gentlemen of Council, through the
“ oppressions of my officers, upon proof,
“ you lay me under the necessity of mak-
“ ing good to you ; but until my offi-
“ cers receive orders, that the agree-
“ ment between you and me is not to
“ take effect, they will not refrain from
“ injustice ; I must therefore return
“ you the letter of agreement betwixt

“ you and me, and write to all my officers, that I have returned it.”

BEFORE this, I sent for Mahomed Allee Beg, in order to enquire into particulars. All whatever you may have paid him, by way of custom, either in money or merchandize, and can send me his own sealed receipts for, I will make him repay in money, and will severely punish him.

YOU, and the rest of the Board, in conformity to the Firmaun, husbul-hookums, &c. funnuds, are willing to give me something upon tobacco, in two places, namely, Dacca and Luckypoor, and will let me have two and a half *per cent.* upon salt. Why should you take upon you so great a hardship? As I never got any thing by collecting duties, and they are a cause of endless disputes between us, I have entirely put a stop to collecting customs.

I AM not ignorant of the nature of your Firmaun and Husbul-hookums. I have been twenty or thirty years in Bengal, and am perfectly acquainted with every

every article in them. But not to go so far back. In the time of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, when notwithstanding I stood your friend, it was a difficulty to get ten or twenty timbers from Chittagong, for building your houses ; then what was become of your Firmaun and Hufbulhookums ? And, at present, that I am Nabob, where are they come from ?

You are resolved, that the determination of all disputes with my officers, shall rest in the power of the chiefs of your factories.

THE justice of the chiefs of the factories is this ; they abuse and beat my officers, and carry them away bound.

WITH respect to your writing me, to make good in money the losses the gentlemen have sustained. In the provinces of my government, half is in land rents, and half is in customs. You have taken half the country, and by your favor, I have not reaped so much as a single farthing, on account of the customs ; and the half of land rents which remains, goes to the payment of my seapoys. A-

A NARRATIVE of the

ny other person, therefore, that you can pitch upon, you will agree with, for making good your losses.

You demanded a perwannah to all my officers. Copies, both of a perwannah and funnud, for exemption of duties, which I wrote to every one of my officers, are sent inclosed to you. If any of my officers shall act contrary to my order, therein signified, he shall be punished. You write me, to send you back the agreement made between us. The only agreement you made with me, is a letter you wrote to me, which I send back, agreeable to your directions. If the former treaty, on which I depended, is of no use to me, and I have not passed a single moment free from trouble and dispute, will a fresh treaty be of use to me? If you write to me for the former treaty, it shall be also sent you."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated March 22, 1763.

"YOUR favor, dated the 25th of Shaaban, is arrived, and I am
happy

happy with the news of your welfare ;
the copy of Rajah Nobit Roy's letter,
which was inclosed, I have also received and read. You write me, that " it
" is plain from Rajah Nobit Roy's letter,
" ter, that I demand duties upon opium.
" That your right to trade in this, is
" founded upon the Royal Firmaun,
" Husbul-hookums, and former funnuds,
" which, with all other rights and
" privileges, the English are resolved
" steadfastly to maintain, nor suffer any
" infringement. That you will send me
" copies of the Firmaun and funnuds
" by Mr. Amyatt. That I must write
" to all my officers and fougedars, that
" trade may be carried on as usual ; else,
" in case of my delaying to do so, a
" rupture would happen between me
" and the English."

THE affair of duties is as follows.
On account of the oppression of the
English gomastahs, there has not so
much as a single farthing been collected
by way of duties. Nay, so far from it,
you form collusions with some of my

people, and exact fines from others. And many merchants, who ought to pay customs, have carried their goods duty-free, through your protection. Upon this account, I have entirely given up the collection of duties, and removed all chokeys wheresoever established. For why should I subject my character to be reproached without cause, on account of duties? If any one of my people shall insist upon duties, I will severely punish him. As to what you write, of your grounding your rights upon the Firmaun and former sunnuds, I have been twenty or thirty years in this country, and I am perfectly well acquainted with the nature thereof. But you ought to remember, that your gomastahs, until the time of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, traded only in some certain articles. Nay, altho' I stood your friend, you were unable to provide ten or twenty timbers from Chittagong for building; but now, in my administration, your gomastahs make so many disturbances, and are guilty of so great injuries, that I cannot enumerate them.

them. Judge, therefore, from these circumstances, who is the oppressor, and who the oppressed.

You write, that in case of my delaying to send orders to my officers, a rupture must happen between us. It was needless for you to write this to me, since before your letter Mr. Ellis never let slip any opportunity of bringing about a rupture, and shewing his ill-will to me, and brought the affairs to this length. Nor has he ever omitted any occasion of perplexing my affairs, and disgracing my officers. Why need I continue to repeat these things to you? It is the custom of Europeans, to change their chief every three years. As three years of my being Nazim are almost expired, and you have never had any pretence, by any deviation on my part; therefore, with a view to effect a change, and turn me out, you have been raising all these disputes and altercations, and have written to your gomastahs, to commit disturbances and ravages in my country; and have sent troops, to beat, bind, confine, and carry off my

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officers,

officers, expecting that I would accordingly make some stir, and you might be furnished with a pretence against me."

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Board, March 23, 1763.

"**W**E have now to acquaint you with an affair, which will further explain the intentions of the Nabob, and shew, that they are not merely confined to the collection of duties on our trade. A subahdar, about the beginning of this month, had permission to go and worship at Gyah, and was furnished with a dustuck from the chief, another from Nobit Roy, and a letter from the latter to the fougedar of that place, to prevent his meeting any insults. But notwithstanding this precaution, he was made a prisoner: the chief, upon being informed of it, sent fifty seepoys to release him, and seize the offender, which they effected, but were the next day surrounded in a house by about 4000 of the Nabob's troops from Tikarry. The subahdar asked their intentions, and told them,

he

he had no orders to molest any person. The commander replied, it was the Nabob's orders, to cut every English seepoy to pieces wherever they were found. The subahdar told him, he would not submit so tamely. After much altercation, the Nabob's officers agreed to let them go, provided they would deliver up their arms and cloaths ; but this being absolutely refused by the subahdar, the Nabob's people began to fire on them, and throw combustibles into the house, by which a havaldar was killed, and a few seepoys wounded. Our people then, and not before, returned their fire, and defended themselves till the evening, when they marched out of the house, bringing their wounded with them, and arrived here this morning, without any further loss.

THE people, who were the original instruments of this mischief by seizing the subahdar, escaped during the fray ; and in the present situation of affairs, we cannot spare a force sufficient to chastize their insolence ; but we doubt not you will resent it in such a manner, as shall
deter

deter the Nabob and his officers from acting so in future.

THE city is still in the same uproar and confusion, and all business, but that of war, at a stand."

WHEN these letters * were read at the Board, great offence was taken at the style of the Nabob, which was judged to indicate so ill a disposition towards us, as to render all hopes of an accommodation vain; and it was moved by some, that the deputation should be set aside, and the army held in readiness to march; but the majority being of opinion, that Mr. Amyatt and Hay should proceed as far as Cossimbuzar, and there wait till the Nabob's assent to the deputation should authorize them to proceed; it was resolved accordingly, that they should
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* At the same consultation were read two letters of the Nabob, to me and Mr. Amyatt, in answer to the proposed deputation. Though the substance of these letters is sufficiently noticed in the minutes which follow, yet to avoid any misconstruction from their omission, I have wrote to Bengal for the copies, and they shall be hereafter inserted.

set out. As the opinions of the Board contain the fullest remarks that can be made on the Nabob's letters, and serve to throw a fresh light on the dispositions of the several members, I shall here insert them.

Extract of Consultation, April 1, 1763.

Mr. Watt's Opinion.

“THE Nabob's letters appear to me to contain little else than evasions and insolences. His conduct for many months past has been such, that there is little room left to doubt his intentions, which are to distress the English, and depreciate their character, power and interest in these provinces ; and I am sorry to say, he has almost accomplished them. It is natural to conclude, that a man raised to the Subahship, and supported by them to the utmost, contrary to the inclinations of the King and great people of the country, would have some regard for their interest, if not some friendship for the English ; but his conduct proves the contrary ; and the step he

he has pursued in taking off all duties is, and will be the greatest detriment to the Company and the English. His refusing to see Mr. Amyatt I deem an insult; his letter bids us defiance; the preparations he is making every where, and the readiness he shews to quarrel with us, have produced an entire stoppage to trade.

MR. WATTS is therefore of opinion, that a letter be wrote to the Nabob, insisting on his recalling the orders for not levying of duties, and that the trade of the country be carried on as formerly; that if he will comply with this, Mess. Amyatt and Hay should proceed to him to settle any other points; but if on the contrary, that we do ourselves justice, and take that satisfaction by force for the many insults he has put upon us, which he refused to give; and that orders be given for the army to hold themselves in readiness to march.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

MR. MARRIOTT is of opinion, that the Nabob's letters are wrote in a very improper and indecent style, and that he
shews

shews throughout great distrust and diffidence of us ; that notwithstanding he thinks, from the Nabob's actions and letter, particularly these last, we should be fully justified in coming to an open war with him ; yet a revolution is of such a nature, and must be attended with such bad consequences to our character and reputation, if not to our interest, that it is the last thing to be wished for. He therefore thinks a letter should be wrote to the Nabob, informing him, that there are a number of articles to be communicated to him by Mess. Amyatt and Hay, besides that of duties, for the welfare and interest of the Company, and his own government. That if he has the thoughts of either at heart, he should assent to Mess. Amyatt's and Hay's coming upon this occasion. That our troops have never acted, but when his officers had directly stopped our business. That we once more assure him of our willingness to protect him on all occasions in his just rights ; and that we never had an intention of setting up a competitor
against

against him. That without he will allow us to remove his suspicions and jealousies by an interview, with two of the members of the Board, it will be impossible for us to act otherwise, than as against a declared enemy, which we shall then unwillingly be obliged to, for the preservation of our rights and privileges.

THAT in the mean time Mess. Amyatt and Hay, might be requested to proceed up as far as Cossimbuzar, and there wait till we receive the Nabob's answer; if that answer should not desire an immediate interview with Mess. Amyatt and Hay, or be the least evasive, that the army should march up and act against him as an enemy.

Mr. Hay's Opinion.

THE Nabob's conduct for near a twelvemonth past, and particularly his method of redressing our grievances when applied to for that purpose; and his letters throughout, which point out the situation in which he thinks we ought to be kept, and his notion of the privileges which we enjoy, by grant and treaty,

ty, fully declare his resolution to give us no satisfaction for the losses we have sustained, by the unjust conduct of his officers, or to treat with us about these affairs, or receive the deputation proposed by us, to be sent to him for the adjustment of them. These together convince me, was the consequence of a rupture, with the Nabob, ever so doubtful; that it would be our interest, and the best measure that could be pursued, immediately to march against him, before he could do the country much harm, or be prepared to perpetrate our ruin, which, no doubt he would, were it in his power; and I imagine, by his late conduct, he thinks it is. By comparing the condition of his army and ours, I think it can hardly be doubted, but a war between us must end in his immediate ruin, although he should employ his whole art for some months to strengthen himself.

IT is reasonable to think, that any other person, in the Nabob's situation, would be jealous of us, as long as we
continue

continue to hold the possessions we have in the country ; and that nothing but our having a sufficient force, or reputation in the country, can keep them to us. These have, in my opinion, both been greatly lessened by a very bad policy, in making the Nabob too great ; for as his power increases, so, in comparison, ours does diminish. But our reputation has suffered much more than our power, by than means ; for by giving up to the Nabob those that we had promised to protect ; and seeing him, without ever making a remonstrance, ruin almost every person in the country, that had ever any connection with the English ; and making them promise never to have any, under severe penalties, we have entirely lost that reputation which we had, of being persons of honor, whose words and promises might, in all cases, be depended on ; and which received such great and irreparable hurt by the last revolution. This kind of reputation, which we have so much suffered in, is not only very desirable, but
highly

highly useful ; but that kind of reputation which we had, of being masters of the country, when we pleased, would be equally, if not more useful to us, in keeping us in possession of our lands and rights, and preventing us from numberless broils, which a contrary opinion will bring on us, and this has equally been hurt by our policy ; for the people in the country can never think, that our conduct proceeded from any other cause, than an inability to help ourselves, or act otherwise.

HAVING considered this, and that it may be of service to our reputation, and in some measure recover us from the imputation of being unfaithful to our engagements, to endeavor all in our power (even by delay, which might be of the most fatal consequence, was it not for the superiority that we have at present) to bring about an adjustment of affairs with the Nabob, on such terms as have been proposed before ; which, I hope, will sufficiently prevent its being thought in the country, that we are altogether

VOL. III. H dependent

dependent on the Nabob ; I therefore agree with Mr. Marriott in what he proposes to effect it.

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

THERE is scarce a man in the province, that ever had any attachment to the English, or any connection or dependence on them, but has been marked out, on that account, and sacrificed by the Nabob, through his jealousy and hatred to us ; insomuch, that it cannot be said, we have now left us one friend in the country, nor any to give us the least intelligence of what passes relative to us, in these times of trouble. All we learn, is through our Chief and Council at Patna. The proceedings of the Nabob in turning off our troops. The stoppage and impediments thrown in the way of our trade, since July last, without the removal or punishment of any of the authors of these losses and disturbances. The insolent orders he every where issued, to turn every Englishman out of the country, that refused obedience to the late regulations. The violences

lences and oppressions to which his officers proceeded in consequence, in which he both justifies and supports them by force of arms. . The orders he has issued, for collecting nine *per cent.* duty on opium, and on goods purchased, that are produced in the country, without any distinction, whether for export of inland trade. The contemptible light in which he considers the Company's rights, in virtue of their royal grants, and the late treaties; and the intention he has shewn, of reducing and confining our trade to as narrow limits, and under as great difficulties, as those we labored under before the revolution; and the open attempt he has now made to injure the Company's trade, by undermining their privileges, and rendering them of no effect, in presuming of his own unwarranted authority to take off all duties. The attack he ordered to be made on our factory, and seepoys near Taajepoor, and his justifying the same, and declaring his resolution of opposing force by force, on the like occasions; and the public threats he has

made use of before the gomastah, of extirpating the English, if ever they presumed to act against his aumils in future; though he had been previously informed by the Board, that our Chiefs would act by their authority, in freeing our trade where stopped, or in repelling any insults or abuses of his officers. The stopping and imprisoning our subahdar, though furnished with the Company's dustuck, and attacking and killing our people sent to relieve him, which agrees perfectly with his own declaration in his letter, that he considers things already brought to a rupture. The Nabob's disinclination of entering into any new treaty to adjust these disputes. The slight and disdain he shews for that treaty by which he holds his subahship. His express declaration to Mr. Amyatt, that he had better keep away than come to talk upon business. The preparations that we are informed from Patna, Moorshedabad and Dacca, he is every where making for war, without having given us satisfaction, or any reason to hope, that he will give

us satisfaction, on any of the points we have laid down and insisted on. All these circumstances, with the style and purport of his six last letters, which bid us defiance in the most insolent and ungrateful manner, make me entirely of opinion, that the Nabob looks upon us as his enemies, and waits his opportunity of ruining us. That, from his aversion to any advances to settle these quarrels, or credit any assurances we have given him of our peaceable intentions, the mutual confidence that ought to subsist betwixt us (and without which, we must ever be in a state of war, though it be not publicly declared) is now lost, without any well-grounded hope of its being restored, which does, and must tend to the ruin of all commerce; and, therefore, I can neither think it safe nor honorable, or that, in the Nabob's present disposition towards us, it can produce any good effect, that Mess. Amyatt and Hay should proceed on the deputation; and that till the Nabob, by his behavior, shews as great a desire and

willingness to prevent things coming to extremes, by condescensions very different from any he has made ; our own honor, and the interest and security of our Honorable Masters affairs, dictate to us, to adopt and pursue more vigorous measures, and order the army to be held in readiness to march.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

THOUGH I do not approve of the regulations which have been resolved upon by the majority of the Board, yet since they are to take place, and the disputes with the Nabob, upon the subjects which gave occasion to them, have been carried to so great a height, I think it necessary that they should be delivered and explained to him by a deputation from the Board, and that Mess. Amyatt and Hay should therefore proceed, as before directed, on that commission. The Nabob has expressed a desire to see Mr. Amyatt, and makes no other objection to a conference with him, on the affairs which have been lately debated at the Board, than his desire to avoid every subject of
 conten-

contention ; having with that intent consented to such of the articles as he has been made acquainted with. But if he has exceeded the intention of the Board, or not sufficiently answered their expectations, it is the more necessary, that some gentlemen be deputed to confer with him in person upon them ; it being a known truth, that more may be effected by a personal negotiation in one day, than in a month by letters.

As to the other part of the question, which I shall take the liberty to understand, in the terms in which it was first proposed, viz. “ Whether the army
“ should march against the Nabob.” I declare my entire dissent to so violent a measure, which no pretence of necessity can require, or justice allow of. ✓

It is unnecessary, because it is not in the Nabob’s power to oppose any laws which we may present to him ; and the orders lately sent to the subordinate factories are sufficient to preserve them in full force.

THE same reason might be urged in proof of its injustice, were there no o-

ther against it; but when the Nabob has declared his submission to every term which you have imposed upon him, and expostulates only for his life, whatever his motive be, whether of choice or necessity, surely we may rest satisfied with such a condescension, nor attempt to reduce him to a lower state of humiliation. I shall not (I hope I need not) remind you gentlemen, of the earnest injunctions of the Company, to abide by our engagements with the Nabob, and to avoid to the last extremity every occasion, that may tend to another change in the government. But should it be resolved to break with the Nabob, I hope such gentlemen as are of that sentiment, will declare it before the last dispatches are made to Europe, that our Honorable Masters may have as early notice of it as possible, and take the speediest measures to remedy (if possible) the disorders which may follow from it.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

MR. CARTIER esteems the Nabob's letters as insolent and equivocating, and far

far from giving us that satisfaction, which we have reason to expect from him; that they require clearness, and leave us doubtful as to his real intentions towards us. That his compliance with our demands, in those points we have insisted upon with him, which he makes a matter of much merit, is a contemptuous manner of proceeding, having effectually undone to us the advantages of this very compliance, and rendered our valuable privileges void, by a general indulgence granted to his subjects and others of a free trade. That his letter to Mr. Amyatt neither consents to, nor absolutely refuses the visit the Board have thought proper should be made him. That it is necessary he be made fully acquainted with the purport of this visit, viz.

“ that the suspicions harboured in his
“ mind may be banished, and give place
“ to that hope and confidence he ought
“ to have of our particular attachment
“ to him; to make him sensible the good
“ of the country, and his own particu-
“ larly, is in every respect intended by
“ it.

“ it. That our intentions extend no fur-
 “ ther, but to the support of our rights
 “ and privileges, in which it would be
 “ more becoming him to join with us,
 “ than to be offended at, and oppose
 “ those steps, which we are necessarily
 “ led to take to punish those that in-
 “ vade them. That Mr. Amyatt, for
 “ all these desirable ends, intends to set
 “ out, and will wait the result of these
 “ representations at Cossimbuzar, and
 “ be governed by his answer.” That
 in case of meeting a refusal to this visit,
 we shall be justified in the opinion of
 the world, if we consider him the de-
 clared enemy of our nation, and pro-
 ceed immediately against him.

It is certainly becoming in the mem-
 bers of this Board, to pursue every ho-
 norable method, that may tend to effect
 a perfect reconciliation with the Nabob ;
 and every one that would conduce to that
 end, ought not to be neglected, or left
 untried. Our late revolution, he be-
 lieves, has done us not much honour in
 the eyes of the world ; and another so
 quickly

quickly succeeding, would prove, in some measure, the inconstant wavering state of our Councils; and motives of action be imputed to the members of this Board, unbecoming gentlemen and honest men to be influenced by: he therefore thinks it necessary to convince the Nabob, of our having force sufficient to take every satisfaction required, but with no design to use it against his government, till his refractory behaviour absolutely compels us.

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

HAVING carefully examined the Nabob's last letter, as well as that to Mr. Amyatt, I think there are many expressions in the former injurious and improper, but they seem to be mentioned rather thro' pet and passion, than any intention of quarrelling with us. I therefore give it as my opinion, that the necessity there is of Mess. Amyatt and Hay's going to negotiate, ought to be again represented to him. That at present his affairs suffer as well as ours, and that it is absolutely necessary he should come to
some

some determination ; but should he refuse to treat with us, or hear any thing relative to business, then it may be deemed an open declaration of war ; but without further cause than we have at present, I see no need of breaking with him ; and as the Company have thought proper to confirm him, we ought to be very cautious how we take such a step, and bring about another revolution, for we seem at present somewhat obnoxious in the eyes of the country people, on having concluded the last. However, our rights and privileges have been lately so infringed, and things so circumstanced, that it is highly necessary some speedy remedy should take place. I therefore think Mess. Amyatt and Hay might proceed to Cossimbuzar, and there wait the Nabob's final resolves ; and in case he still persists in refusing to see those gentlemen, the army should march ; but all methods ought to be tried to bring affairs to an amicable issue, for the reasons beforementioned.

Mr.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

THE Nabob's settled inveteracy, and evil designs against us, have long been manifest to the whole country; but of late they have appeared more glaringly, both from his actions and from his letters, which are filled with scorn and defiance; not to mention a multitude of instances, which may be produced, I shall only take notice of his endeavors to undermine and utterly destroy the privileges, granted us by the King's Firmaun, by exempting all other merchants, of whatsoever nation, from paying duties, in order to put them on a level with us. His designs indeed are so evident, that the constant artifices used by the President and Mr. Hastings to disguise the truth, and misrepresent matters of fact, cannot conceal them. The case, at present, seems to be this; either we must submit to be reduced to the situation in which we were, during the time of Mohabut Jung, and Serajah Dowla, or else we must oblige the Nabob to submit to us. The latter, I apprehend, from
his

his late behavior, we shall not be able to effect, unless we can make him feel our power ; and I will never be accessory or consenting to any thing that may expose us to the danger of the former. It is my opinion, therefore, that we should neglect no means of putting ourselves in the best posture of defence, that we may be ready to act in the most effectual manner ; and that Major Adams be accordingly desired to hold himself in readiness to march, whenever it be necessary. I think also, that Mess. Amyatt and Hay should not proceed on their deputation, as the Nabob has absolutely refused to treat with them ; and therefore their going, will only expose us to further contempt and derision, a large share of which we have already incurred. However, that the Nabob may still have an opportunity given him of remaining on amicable terms with us, I propose, that our demands be once more fully stated to him by letter ; and that we insist on a direct compliance therewith, without evasion or subterfuge. If he still re-
fuse

fuse to comply, I think we should immediately take our measures for ~~crushing~~ him ; for, as it is known that he is raising troops, and making warlike preparations in all parts of the country, a further delay may be very dangerous.

Mr. Amyatt's Opinion.

I THINK the Nabob's letters shew the same state of mind, which he always has seemed to express and discover by his actions, ever since he has been in the government ; and no further than might well be expected from him, from having been so long suffered to follow his own will, and his whims indulged to appease his jealousies. General complaints admitted against our servants, when the oppressions which we now experience have been on his part ; our business stopped, and almost every where impeded, without our exerting our influence and power to clear it, because we would not give him offence, or make him uneasy ; to most of these grievances and concessions, myself, with several members of the Board, have often objected and remonstrated, foreseeing
that,

that, in the end, it must create the animosity and ill-will, which now is come to pass; and that we should be necessitated by force, to assert our own rights, which he had been so long endeavoring to subvert. I am too sensible, that the people of the government are not to be so far trusted, as to have any point given up to them. A compliance, in the most trivial matter, gives them a privilege, they think, to exercise their authority, without controul, in every thing, tho' of ever so much consequence and detriment to the condescending party. Such being the prepossessions of the Nabob's mind, our insisting on a free exertion of our rights and privileges now, appears to him as an encroachment on his liberties, and a loss to him in his duties, from our trade being extended. For this way of thinking, however, he has no justice on his side, for the same trade, in its different branches, was carried on in his predecessor's time, tho' not to so great a degree, occasioned solely by the troubles
and

and confusion the country was every where involved in.

THAT the Nabob would gladly make himself independent of us, and always shewed such an inclination, endeavored as much as possible to throw off all connections with us, and attempted to destroy our influence with the country people, is very evident. But vain are all these efforts, and to be suspected the advice of bad and evil persons about him for their own advantage; as most certainly he must be convinced, his own strength cannot defend him from any attempt of a foreign power, or reduce us to that state of dependence, he probably has been taught to believe. I am apt to believe, that sentiments have also been instilled into him, that he might safely interrupt our private trade, and that we durst not offer to check him therein, whilst the Company's remained unmolested; whereas, private trade should be as sacred as the Company's, and no distinction ever known; for that once obstructed, the Company's cannot long remain free;

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which plainly appears, from what it has suffered through the course of these disputes ; tho' I believe no such losses were intended by the Nabob. The Nabob's letters are petulant and impertinent ; they likewise contain some invectives and defiance, but not of such a nature, as if he felt his own strength sufficient to break with us. I therefore think he ought to be wrote to once more, in the terms proposed by Mr. Marriott, to convince him of his error, in thinking that we have views to a change ; and to insist on his receiving our deputation, as the only means left of preventing such an event. If he refuses so reasonable a demand, I think we may justly interpret the ill intentions to be on his side ; and that we shall be justified to the world, in taking the most vigorous and immediate measures, for securing the trade and interest of our Honorable Employers in these provinces. As it seems to be the sentiment of the majority of the Board, I shall willingly proceed the length of Cossimbuzar, and there wait the Nabob's answer.

Major

Major Adams's Opinion.

MAJOR ADAMS is of opinion, that the Nabob, by his letters to the Board, seems to have entertained jealousies, that must be very prejudicial both to his own and the Company's affairs; and which cannot be removed but by seeing Mr. Amyatt; and therefore he should be wrote to by the Board to reconcile him to the interview. In the mean time, he thinks it necessary that Mr. Amyatt should proceed to Cossimbuzar, and there wait the Nabob's answer; and if by it he still persists in his refusal of seeing Mr. Amyatt on business, the major can think of no other method to bring him to reason, than marching up the troops; yet thinks, if any other measures can be thought of, to put a stop to the present confusions, and prevent a future scene of troubles in the country, they should be first tried.

The President's Opinion.

ALTHOUGH the Nabob's letters of the 22d of March, do not contain a cheerful and candid assent to the demands made upon him by the Board, yet he

does not contradict, nor refuse to comply with them. It is not to be wondered, that he complains and remonstrates, and writes with ill humour, since it is certain, that the privileges which the majority of the Board have resolved now to insist on, are greater than ever were before insisted on, or than we were ever admitted to, by any former Nabob, even Jaffier Allee Cawn, who positively refused to let us have a factory at Chittagong, much less would he permit us to carry on our trade custom-free in all parts, and in all articles.

SUPPOSING, therefore, that the demanded rights be really and truly granted and intended us by the Firmaun, which however is not my opinion ; yet with respect to the Nabob, the insisting on it is an innovation, which he may very naturally complain of, as it occasions a great loss in that part of the revenue proceeding from the customs. He says indeed an entire loss ; for which reason, to avoid further disputes on the subject, he has given orders for taking off all customs in general.

OF

OF this order the majority of the Board complain with equal vehemence, and have resolved to insist on his taking customs from other merchants, in the usual manner, altho' not from us. This is to form part of the commission to Mess. Amyatt and Hay, as well as the discussing the privileges of the Firmaun.

THE second resolution of the Board has not yet been made known to the Nabob, who conceiving there is nothing more to be said about customs, after he has entirely abolished them ; and having been advised from the Board, that Mess. Amyatt and Hay were deputed to regulate the affair of the customs, therefore he answers, that their coming is unnecessary. In every other respect, his letter to Mr. Amyatt is written in an handsome and suitable manner.

WITH respect to the present situation of affairs between us and the Nabob, it is this. Wherever the Company's business, or that of their servants, suffered any interruption, our forces have been employed to remove such obstructions,

tions, and seize those officers of the government who occasioned them ; we have cleared our business, and taken our own satisfaction, and left the Nabob on the suffering side ; and a very great sufferer he will undoubtedly be ; for it is well known, that the zemindars, collectors, and other officers of the country government, when they see a likelihood of troubles, and their Master's power on the decline, never fail to make use of the opportunity of keeping back their rents.

THE Nabob's letters are those of a despairing man, who has imagined to himself, that the Board, or the majority of them, have determined at all events to overthrow his government, let him do what he will, and submit never so patiently to their resolutions. To this state of his mind, many of the petulant expressions, and the anxiety which appears through his letters, should be attributed, and proper allowances made. While we are left in quiet possession of the countries assigned to the Company, and their trading business also is carried

on

on in every part without interruption, it would be as impolitick as unjust, to begin a war without necessity against an ally, whom we are bound by treaty to support; and of which, the consequence, would probably be a scene of fresh distraction in the country, a general interruption of trade, and a wanton effusion of blood.

THAT the Nabob has not the design of breaking with us, I think, is plainly proved from his conduct, as well as from the expostulating style of his letters. It is not reasonable to take for granted every report made to us, by an English gomastah, or a discontented officer of the government. If he had a mind to break with us, he would certainly have attacked those three companies of seepoys, with lieutenant Downie, which were detached from Patna, and seized the Nabob's officer at Mow, whilst the Nabob, with his whole army, was within a short march of the place. And if he had succeeded against those three companies, he would then have attacked

our troops at Patna, to have endeavored to have cut off so considerable a part of our force ; instead of which, his retiring to Mongheer, is a proof with me, that he will submit to any thing, rather than come to hostilities with us.

AND I think we ought equally to desire to preserve the peace and tranquility of the country, and amicably to accommodate the points in dispute ; for which purpose, I think, no method so proper, as the deputation proposed, to discuss those points. The Nabob's saying, that if Mr. Amyatt's business is to dispute upon the articles of customs, he had better not come, as it is a point already settled, by the abolishing of customs in general ; is not, in my opinion, to be regarded as a refusal to treat with Mr. Amyatt, upon the matters contained in the instructions, to Mr. Hay and him from the Board ; and which having never yet been communicated to the Nabob, it consequently cannot be said, that he has refused to discuss them.

I THINK,

I THINK, therefore, that it would be most expedient to write to the Nabob, in answer to his last letters, to this effect.

“ That the alarms, in all parts of the
“ country, must be attended with a very
“ great loss and detriment, both to his
“ affairs and the Company’s, and a
“ breach of the friendship between us,
“ infallibly ensue, if the necessary regu-
“ lations for carrying on our business,
“ and settling the points in dispute, be
“ not immediately concluded. That as
“ a proof of our desire to avoid coming
“ to extremities, we appointed Mess.
“ Amyatt and Hay to confer with him,
“ as the most effectual method of regu-
“ lating affairs with dispatch. That he
“ ought to regard such our appointment
“ of two gentlemen of the Board, as the
“ strongest mark of our friendship, and
“ a compliment paid him ; and that if
“ he should refuse to treat with them,
“ it can be regarded in no other light,
“ but as a declaration of his intention
“ to come to a rupture with us.”

AND I think Mr. Amyatt might himself write to the Nabob, to the same purpose, and wait his answer, either at Calcutta, or Cossimbuzar. But if the Board should determine, that Mess. Amyatt and Hay shall not proceed according to their appointment, then, I think, that a letter should be wrote to the Nabob, upon the plan of their instructions, demanding every thing thereby directed to be demanded, and requiring a plain, explicit, and final answer, upon every article: it would be an unprecedented thing to employ force, for the obtaining any point, until a friendly application has been made and rejected.

Opinion of the Majority.

THE majority of the Board being of opinion, that the Nabob should be again wrote to, to insist on his receiving the intended deputation for treating upon business; and that Mess. Amyatt and Hay should proceed to, and wait his answer at Cossimbuzar.

Resolution

Resolution in Consequence.

AGREED, that the President do address him to the effect expressed in his own and Mr. Marriott's minutes, and plainly acquaint him, that a refusal to comply with the demand therein contained, can be regarded in no other light, than a declaration on his side, of his intention to come to a rupture with us."

SECTION XII.

The Deputation of Mess. Amyatt and Hay; their Proceedings and other Occurrences, to the Death of Mr. Amyatt.

The Board's Instructions to Mess. Amyatt and Hay.—Mr. Vansittart's Dissent.—Syed Buddul Cawn, one of the Nabob's Officers, seized at Luckypoor, and sent to Calcutta.—Produces Mahomed Allee's Orders.—Orders in Consequence to the Factory at Dacca to seize him.—Reasons for Mr. Vansittart's joining in that Order.—Probable Motives of the Nabob's Conduct, in respect to Mahomed

med Allee.—*Remarkable Instances of Prepossession on the Part of the Nabob, and of the Council in two Letters; one from the Nabob, and the other from Cossimbuzar, upon false Reports.—Debate upon the last Letter, determined by a second Letter from Cossimbuzar.—Plan of Operations in Case of a War.—Debate upon the Orders to be sent to Patna.—Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna, giving an Account of the Preparations making by the Nabob's Officer there.—Mr. Johnstone's further Minute, relative to his Accusation of Mr. Vansittart, of making a private Agreement with the Nabob.—Mr. Vansittart's Answer.—Two Letters from the Nabob.—Debate upon them.—Resolution in Consequence, that Mess. Amyatt and Hay should proceed on their Deputation.—Letter from the Chief and Council of Patna, containing News of Insurrections in that Province.—Remarks upon it.—The Nabob's Letter to the Company.—Letter from the Chief and Council of Patna, complaining of their not being allowed fuller Powers.—Remarks upon it.—Juggutseet and his Brother carried Prisoners to the Nabob.—The Nabob's Reply to Mr. Vansittart's*

tart's Remonstrance in their Behalf.—Mahomed Allee seized, and sent to Calcutta.—Letter from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, giving an Account of their first Interview with the Nabob.—Opinion of the Nabob's Disposition at this Time.—Boats with Arms for Patna, stopped by the Nabob at Mongheer.—Mr. Amyatt demands their Release without Effect.—The Nabob's Reasons for detaining them.—Letter from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, with a Copy of their Demands presented to the Nabob, and his Answers.—Two Letters from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, advising that the Arms were still detained.—Two Letters from the Nabob, complaining against Mr. Ellis, and demanding the Removal of our Troops from Patna.—Letter from Mr. Amyatt to Mr. Vansittart, containing the Nabob's Objections to the Demands of the Board.—Mr. Vansittart's Opinion upon the further Instructions to be sent to Mess. Amyatt and Hay.—Debate and Resolutions of the Board.—Discretional Powers given to the Chief and Council of Patna.—Mr. Hastings's Dissent.—Letter from Mr. Vansittart to the Secretary, containing his Objection and further Opinion.—Fresh Resolutions thereupon.

upon.—Letters from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, with their Opinion that a Rupture was unavoidable.—Two Letters from Mr. Ellis, giving an Account of the Desertion of two hundred of our Seepoys.—Other Letters from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, confirming their former.—Further Resolutions for the Disposition of the Troops in Case of a War. Debates concerning the future Government of the Country in such a Case.—Letter from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, advising of the Nabob's Declaration, that he would put an End to the Conference, if we did not recall our Troops from Patna.—Letter from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, advising that the Nabob had released the Boats of Arms, and consented to treat.—Strong Reports of Hostilities begun at Patna.—Our Dawks stopped.—Two Letters from the Nabob; the first urging the Removal either of our Troops from Patna, or Mr. Ellis from the Chiefship; the other expressing a Conviction, that Mr. Ellis was bent upon attacking the City of Patna, and that our Correspondence was come to an End.—The Army ordered to march.—Advice from Mr. Amyatt, that he and his Party were surrounded, and the Boats

of

of Arms again stopped.—Report from Hircarras, that Patna was taken by our Troops.—Explanation of Mr. Vansittart's Conduct.—His Minute, declaring his Resolution to quit the Government, as soon as the War should be ended.—Further Debates concerning the future Government of the Country.—Resolution of the Board to re-establish Meer Jaffier.—Advice from Mr. Amyatt, of his having left Mongheer, and from Cossimbuzar, of his Party being attacked, and himself killed.

MESS. Amyatt and Hay took their leave of the Board the 4th of April, having received from them the following instructions, which were drawn up from the opinions of the majority. And I signed them with the rest of the Board, conforming herein to the established rule of all the Company's governments; which is, that every member shall sign the public orders and records, entering his dissent, where he differs from the opinion of the majority in the consultations. It will be remembered, that I had formerly strongly insisted upon the observance of this rule, when Mess. Amyatt,

myatt and Ellis refused to sign the order of the Board, and subscribed their dissent to them ; and it was therefore the more necessary I should comply with it on all occasions myself.

Copy of the Instructions to Mess^{rs}. Amyatt and Hay. Dated March 28, 1763.

“ **F**IRST, The trade of our factories on behalf of the Company, as well as the inland trade, carried on by the agents and gomastahs of English merchants, having, for some months past, met with the greatest interruptions in all parts of the country, from the officers of the Nabob’s government ; and this having further proved the source of numerous disputes and complaints on both sides ; we have had under our consideration the settling of certain rules, agreeable to our respective rights and pretensions, whereby to carry on our trade, and be the means of preventing such disputes from happening in future. In these points we have already come to some resolutions, and having the greatest reliance on your abilities, prudence, and zeal, as well for
the

the interest of our Honorable Masters, as for the welfare and good of the community, we have thought proper to depute you, to make known to the Nabob those resolutions.

SECONDLY, In the first place, you must again acquaint the Nabob, that the regulations made with him by the President being disapproved, are of course become void, and you are therefore to redemand the letter which contained them. You are also to insist, in case he has not before issued such orders, that he do revoke all the orders which he sent to his officers, in consequence of the said regulations ; and inform them, that trade is in every respect to go on in its usual channel, until he (the Nabob) has settled with you the business of your deputation.

THIRDLY, Accompanying this, you will receive English and Persian copies of the Firmaun, husbul-hookums and treaties, on which we found our right to a free trade. These we have concluded, give us an indisputable privilege to carry on our trade, as well foreign as inland, throughout

throughout the provinces of this subah, free of any duties to the country government. You must therefore carefully and clearly explain to the Nabob the tenor and substance of these grants, and the justice that it follows we have on our side for abiding thereby.

FOURTHLY, When you have fully asserted, and convinced the Nabob of these our rights and privileges, you will make known to him the resolution of the Council the 2^d instant, for allowing him a duty on salt, with our motives thereto. First, because from general informations taken, it appears, that this article has, from custom, always paid a certain tho' unsettled duty. Secondly, because it is not our intention, through a too scrupulous assertion of our rights, to detriment or diminish the revenues of his government; or in any respect lessen to him the advantages reaped at our hands by his predecessors. That allowing these sentiments to weigh with us as far as our regard for the interests of our Employers and the community, and for the tenor of our said grants, will possibly admit,

mit, we have resolved to allow him (the Nabob) a fixed duty on the article of salt, after the rate of two and half *per cent.* on the rowana price ; but as we have no grounds for extending this consideration further, we cannot admit of duties being levied on any other article of trade whatsoever.

FIFTHLY, To ascertain the payment of this duty, and at the same time maintain in its full force the authority of the English duffuck, the article of salt shall be circulated equally with other articles by the means of a duffuck, and be liable to no farther scrutiny or interruption, provided the buxbunder's or shahbunder's receipt for the aforementioned duty appears properly granted and entered on the back thereof.

SIXTHLY, For regulating in future the conduct of our agents and gomastahs, and the officers and dependents of the Nabob's government, with respect to injuries committed on either side, and disputes which may arise between them, we have agreed on the following rules, which

which you must intimate to the Nabob; and as we think they will every way answer the ends proposed, you must acquaint him, that they are therefore to be punctually observed*.

SEVENTHLY, The Nabob having lately affected an ignorance of the nature of this government, and the powers of the Council, the President in his answer endeavored to set him right on that head; but it will still be necessary, that you again explain this matter personally to him by commission from the Board, that a future pretension of the like ignorance may not be the means of detrimmenting our affairs.

EIGHTHLY, There further appears, in the course of his correspondence, certain expressions, which imply a diffidence of the friendship of several members of the Council towards him. This ill founded suspicion you must use your most strenuous endeavors to remove; and on the contrary to convince him, that we shall always, with one voice, agree in every respect

* Here were entered the regulations agreed on in consultation of March 5, in page 1, of this Vol.

respect to assist and support him in his government, provided no attempts are made towards the infringement of our rights and privileges; but that from a just observation of them, and a steady obedience to the repeated orders of our Honorable Employers, we can never tamely put up with attempts that have in the smallest degree such a tendency.

NINTHLY, With respect to the regulations for trade, we think it will be the most proper method to have our rights acknowledged, and the proposals agreed to by some public writing, under the Nabob's own hand and seal, taking care, that there are no expressions inserted in it, contrary to the sense we entertain of our rights by our former grants or treaties, or that may tend to invalidate them. To such a writing you may accede, reserving to us the power of finally ratifying the same.

TENTHLY, As we think it absolutely necessary, both for the interest of our affairs, and the Nabob's, to have a gentleman in the service resident at his Court,

we have appointed Mr. Tho. Amphlett to accompany you on this deputation, and afterwards remain with the Nabob in that capacity. You will therefore introduce him to the Nabob accordingly ; and acquaint him, that all transactions between him and us are, after your departure, to be carried on by this resident ; and that all orders which are to be issued thro' the country relative to the English, must be first intimated to, and approved by him. At your departure you will leave in charge to Mr. Amphlett any part of these instructions, which you may not be able to finish, and give him such further directions as you may think necessary.

ELEVENLY, Having had repeated instances of the ill disposition, and bad behavior of Mahomed Allee, the collector of the Dacca districts, we have inclosed you a particular proof of it in copies of letters which he wrote to Syed Buddul Cawn ; and we must desire that you will insist on his being dismissed from his offices, and obliged to make reparation for all the losses he has been the occasion of
since

since the beginning of these disturbances.

TWELFTHLY, The orders by which we took possession of the lands, being only Aumulnamas, we must desire that you will apply to the Nabob for proper jagheery funnuds, to confirm the Company's right to the three provinces.

THIRTEENTHLY, You must likewise demand from the Nabob, payment of a sum of money, which Mahomed Reza Cawn disbursed out of the revenues of the Chittagong province, on account of the Tippra expedition ; to instruct you in which, we have ordered the particulars to be transmitted you, by the accomptant of the committee of lands.

FOURTEENTHLY, Since we began to draw up these instructions, we have received intelligence of the Nabob's having published a funnud, containing an exemption of duties on every kind of trade, for the space of two years. Copies of this funnud, and a perwannah which accompanied it to Nobit Roy, the Naib of Patna, you will herewith receive. And

as we are of opinion, that this step is taken with a design to prejudice the Company's trading business, and counteract the measures, we have been hitherto taking for the welfare of trade in general, we desire, that you will insist on the Nabob's revoking that sunnud, and collecting duties as before.

FIFTEENTHLY, We further transmit you copy of a minute entered, on this day's consultation, by Mess. Johnstone and Hay; and we desire you will make the inquiry therein recommended."

Additional Instructions to Mess. Amyatt and Hay. Dated April 1, 1763.

"**T**HE last letters received from the Nabob, having been debated on at the Board, and it being determined, that you shall proceed to Cossimbuzar, and there wait his answer to another letter, the President has wrote him; we now address you these further instructions on some points, which have occurred since we concluded those before drawn up.

By

By letters from Patna we are advised of the great want they are in of ficcas, for carrying on the investment, and of the inconvenience and loss which arises from the exchange of money. We have likewise often received letters on this subject, from Cossimbuzar and the other factories. We therefore desire that you will endeavor to prevail on the Nabob, to strike in his mints only one species of rupees, to be current throughout his government, without any batta, so long as they do not diminish in weight. But if you cannot effectuate such regulations, you must represent to the Nabob, in the strongest terms, the great impediment which our business suffers, from the backwardness of the shroffs, to exchange and circulate the Calcutta ficcas; and therefore get him to issue peremptory orders to the shroffs and others, for effectuating the currency of the rupees coined in our mint, that our business may no longer suffer such interruptions and losses from this source; and also procure his orders for coining three lacks

of rupees annually in each of the mints of Dacca and Patna, for the service of the factories. We are informed of an attack made on a subahdar, and fifty seepoys, by a body of the Nabob's troops from Tekarry; for the particulars of the affair, we refer you to the copy of a Patna letter, which you will herewith receive; and we desire, that you will require satisfaction against the officer who commanded them, for declaring he had the Nabob's orders, to cut all English seepoys to pieces, wherever they were found; for having the insolence to propose to our party, that he would let them go, if they would deliver up their arms and cloathing; and on their refusal, for beginning an attack upon them, whereby an havaladar was killed, and four seepoys wounded. You must further insist, that this satisfaction be a public and exemplary punishment before you, or else, that he be delivered up to us to be tried and punished.

WE likewise transmit you some accounts of losses, which certain gentlemen

men have sustained in their trade by the late disturbances and interruptions, the amount of which, you must require of the Nabob, to cause his officers to make good; and whatever accounts of the same nature may hereafter be received, shall likewise be forwarded to you."

THE articles concerning our right to an unlimited free trade, appearing to me very unjust, I thought proper to enter my dissent to that part of the instructions, which I did as follows.

The President's Dissent.

THE President observes, that although he signs these instructions, in conformity to the opinion of the majority of the Board, he dissents to the third and fourteenth paragraphs, which contain a claim of a right to a free trade in all articles, whether for foreign or inland trade; and orders for insisting on the Nabob's revoking the sunnud, for an exemption of duties, for the reasons more particularly mentioned in consultations the 1st and 24th of March *."

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SOME

* Page 385, Vol. II. and page 72, of this Vol.

SOME time before this, Syed Buddul Cawn, the Nabob's officer at Luckypoor, having placed a guard upon the house of one Mahomed Gazy, who had formerly been in the service of the factory, Mr. Middleton, the provisional chief of the factory, wrote to him, desiring him to release the man, which Syed Buddul Cawn refused, and sent him a copy of an order, which he had received for that purpose, from Mahomed Allee. In this order, besides the demands of the government upon Mahomed Gazy (against which we could have had no objections) this extraordinary reason was added, for calling him to an account, that he had been in the English employ, and was their abettor in their designs against the government. The insolence of this expression determined the Board to take the part of Mahomed Gazy ; and Mr. Middleton was accordingly directed to seize Syed Buddul Cawn, and send him to Calcutta ; and, at the same time, a letter was wrote to the Nabob, insisting on his punishing Mahomed Allee.

lee. Mr. Middleton, in consequence of these orders, immediately seized Syed Buddul Cawn, and sent him a prisoner to Calcutta, where he arrived the latter end of the month of March. Being brought before the Board he exculpated himself, by producing several letters from Mahomed Allee, the most insolent of which I shall here insert.

From Mahomed Allee to Syed Buddul Cawn.

“ **Y**OUR agreeable letter is arrived, I fully understand the particulars contained therein, and from the hir-carra likewise, I learned the account of the villainies of the English in Luckypoor. I have written pressingly to Aga Mahomed Nizam, and Samadan, and Aumur Sing, and Jungul Sing, to repair all of them with their people unto you. I have also sent perwannahs, with the utmost dispatch, unto the zemindars of Bilwat, Baboopoor, &c. and I have taken engagements from every zemindar’s vac-keel, about Luckypoor, that their masters,

ters, the zemindars, will attend upon you, and act as you shall direct them. It behoves you, with the utmost dispatch, to repair thither immediately, and blockade the passages for going in and coming out on all sides of Luckypoor; and place strong centinels, that no person whatever may pass or repass to and from Luckypoor, and that a soul does not escape. Of those who claim the English protection, and make use of their name, take two or three and crucify them, and seize their houses and effects. Lay hold of their wives and children, and send them straitway to me. Be sure not to fail in this respect, his excellency having honored me with his orders to this purpose, as you must be informed from the copy of the Governor's engagement, and of his excellency's perwannah, in consequence, which I heretofore sent you; and do not entertain the least diffidence. Regard this my short letter, in the light of a thousand letters, and act accordingly. Moreover, let guards be placed to keep a good look-out about Luckypoor, and

and the parts adjacent, until the Nabob's orders arrive, when they will proceed to act as I shall write to you. At present surround it on all sides, and keep a constant watch.

You will take extraordinary good care of the Europeans at Luckypoor, that they get no intelligence from any of their dependents, either by land or water ; and for security you will send 200 men, with a commander, whom you can rely upon, and direct them, above all things, to be ready for action both night and day."

SUCH a declaration of his inveteracy to the English, as was expressed in these letters of Mahomed Allee's, and the many instances which he had given of it throughout his whole conduct, from his first appointment, justly excited the indignation of the whole Board. The most violent readily seized this occasion, to infer a fixed resolution in the Nabob to break with us ; and that the appointment of such a man as Mahomed Allee, with such extraordinary powers, and his
conduct

conduct in the execution of them, were only in consequence of that resolution. It was therefore warmly urged to prevent the Nabob's designs, by declaring immediate war against him.

THIS sentiment, however, was opposed by a majority of the Board, who judged it most proper, in the present circumstances, to regard the insults as proceeding personally from Mahomed Allee, and to chastize him for it ourselves; since the Nabob, to whom we had repeatedly complained against him, had hitherto afforded us no redress; and that the Chief and Council at Dacca should be ordered to seize, and send him down prisoner to Calcutta.

IN this alternative I easily joined, as well in the hopes of yet preventing a ruinous and unjustifiable war, as from the conviction of the violent and incendiary spirit of Mahomed Allee; who, if suffered to act longer with impunity, I saw would put it out of my power, or even of the Nabob's, to preserve peace between us. It is true, that the Nabob, in answer

to

to the demand of the Board for his dismissal, declared, that he had removed him from his employment, and summoned him to his presence ; but as he still continued at Dacca, and the Nabob had always endeavoured to vindicate his conduct, it was much to be feared, that he would not only escape the punishment he deserved, but perhaps be continued in his authority, and have his hands strengthened with such fresh powers, as might make it dangerous to attempt afterwards to call him to an account. The Nabob's behaviour upon this occasion may be easily accounted for, from the precarious situation in which he stood with the English. When I was with him at Mongheer he assured me, that if the complaints which were then alledged against Mahomed Allee upon enquiry proved true, he would both dismiss him from his service, and severely punish him. The same assurance he gave me with respect to Sheer Allee, the fougedar of Poorneea, who had been guilty of the like enmity and misbehaviour to the English

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lish dependents in that district; and it is very probable, that he was sincere in this declaration at that time, since his interest was most materially concerned in removing every cause of disagreement from between us. But when he perceived the strong opposition, formed against him by the general assembly of the Council, and that the design of his enemies was levelled openly against his person and government, it is not to be wondered at, that he should be cautious of depriving himself of the assistance of persons the most capable of serving him, and on whose zeal he had so much reason to depend in case of a rupture with the English. In a word, it appears from the Nabob's whole behaviour, from the time that the general Council was assembled, that he believed his own ruin to be the object of that assembly; and every step taken by the Board, served but to confirm him the more strongly in that fatal persuasion. Fatal I call it, since with such a mutual distrust every accident, however trifling, was easily construed into an intentional act

act of hostility ; and even the necessary precautions of self-defence served but to make the breach irreparable. I believe it will be needless to point out instances of the effects of these prepossessions, amongst the many which occur in the minutes of the Council, and the Nabob's letters which I have already inserted. To the latter I shall add one, as it shews how easily the Nabob was led away by every groundless report, and how naturally his apprehensions disposed him to co-operate with the very measures which tended to an open rupture.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated April 15, 1763.

“ I HAVE to this time reposed an entire confidence in your friendship, but I never suspected, that you would write me letters filled with professions of friendship and attachment ; and whilst I remained in security, trusting to your declaration, that you would have dispatched your forces in several divisions by land and water, and thro' the hills and woods,
with

with guns and artillery; to these parts. This kind of proceeding I do not understand. I before repeatedly wrote to you, that I was unequal to this business. You would not agree to it, and now that such measures are taken, what sort of dealing is this? As to Mr. Amyatt's coming, which you wrote about before, I have no objection. Recall all your troops, that you have dispatched by every road towards this way, and let Mr. Amyatt proceed hither, in the same manner that you came to visit me; and after his arrival, I will behave to him as becomes me. If you consent not to this, and refuse to recall your forces, and are obstinately bent upon my dishonour, I am without remedy. Let me have your answer to this letter, which I wait for, for it is every man's duty to take care of his honour."

AT this time not a soldier had moved from his quarters; nor could I ever guess from whence the Nabob took up this groundless alarm. It can be attributed only to a prepossession of the mind, which will

will sometimes give the appearance of reality to any phantom of the imagination.

THE following history occurring in the same order of time, aptly illustrates the truth of the above observation, and proves, that if the Nabob's fears led him to believe every idle report of designs that had no existence, either in fact or probability, our faith was at least as active as his, whether fear, or the zeal of party spirit, impelled and gave life to it. It is scarcely conceivable, that any persons should be so blindly prejudiced, as to give entire credit to a story, of the Nabob's having ordered all the mulberry-trees, and cotton-shrubs in his country, to be rooted up, from no other motive, than a mere spite to the English, and to deprive them of the benefits which they enjoyed in common with other merchants in the products of those plants: yet so great was the eagerness of several members of the Board, to catch at every report that tended to the Nabob's prejudice, that such an absurdity was readily believed, and the most violent measures proposed

in consequence, as will appear by the following papers.

Extract of Consultation of April 12, (present Mess. Vanfittart, Batson, Cartier, Marriott and Watts.)

Mr. Batson's Minute.

“ **M**R. BATSON lays before the Board the following letter from Mr. Chambers * at Cossimbuzar.

To Stanlake Batson, Esq;

S I R,

April 3, 1763.

“ THE many daily occurrences here
 “ and reports convince me, our trade
 “ and every thing will speedily be put a
 “ stop to, if some measures are not taken
 “ to prevent it. There is an order pass-
 “ ed for destroying all the mulberry-
 “ trees in the country, and they have
 “ actually commenced putting it in ex-
 “ ecution; so that we can expect no silk
 “ or silk piece-goods for the ensuing year,
 “ if it is not put an immediate stop to.
 “ I hear there is the same order con-
 “ cerning

* Mr. Chambers was the second of the factory of Cossimbuzar, and had charge of it during Mr. Batson's absence.

cerning all the cotton plants, which will be as detrimental to the white cloth trade. It is publickly talked at the city, that the Nabob is determined to get rid of us one way or other ; that he has money enough to pay his troops longer than we shall be able to stay in the country without trade ; for which reason he will destroy all the produce of the country, which may furnish trade ; for it's all one to him, whether we are in the country or not, if we won't pay him any duties ; and he will either oblige us to do that, or quit the country.

SEVERAL parties of horse and foot have arrived at the city, within these two or three days, and great preparations are making for defence, in case our army comes this way, as it is reported they are coming, and that they had marched a little way, and were recalled. I thought it proper to acquaint you of the order concerning the mulberry-trees and cotton, as I think the Governor and Council should be ac-

“ acquainted therewith, by which they
 “ will perceive how our trade is likely
 “ to be destroyed. The tomtoms have
 “ actually been about with the orders,
 “ and several people sent to destroy all
 “ the mulberry fields. Should you think
 “ with me it is necessary to acquaint the
 “ Board with these things, I shall be ob-
 “ liged to you, if you will acquaint
 “ me with the result. I am, &c.

“ Signed John Chambers.

“ P. S. I think it would be highly
 “ necessary to have a few more seepoys
 “ at this factory. Reports run very
 “ high and insolent, and I believe was
 “ the army to march, we should be sur-
 “ rounded at this factory; and there-
 “ fore should be glad to have a few see-
 “ poys to defend ourselves. The arms
 “ of the seepoys here are very bad, I
 “ wish you would apply for some.”

HE (Mr. Batson) also acquaints the
 Board, that immediately on the receipt
 of this letter, he wrote an answer, a-
 greeable to the opinion of the members
 of

of the Council then in Calcutta, desiring Mr. Chambers, if the intelligence he had given him was certain, to confirm the same in a letter to the Board, that they might take their resolutions accordingly.

RECEIVED a letter from Mr. Chambers, dated the 9th, acquainting us, in consequence of Mr. Batson's letter to him, that it is beyond all dispute, that tomtoms have been beat in several places by order of the zilladars, who pretend to have received orders from the Nabob, to take up all the mulberry-trees on both sides of the great river; but he cannot say for certain, that they have yet put it in execution.

The President's Opinion in Consequence of these Letters.

As the intelligence, contained in the publick letter, differs in some particulars from what Mr. Chambers before wrote to Mr. Batson, the President is of opinion, that Mr. Chambers should be directed to acquaint the Board, from whence he got his intelligence, regard-

ing the mulberry-trees ; and to enquire in the name of the Board, from Syed Mahomed Cawn, whether he has received letters from the Nabob to this effect ; if he has, to require from him a copy of such orders, or endeavor by any other means to procure a copy, and transmit it to us.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

MR. WATTS thinks, that the certainty of what Mr. Chambers informs the Board, in his letter of the 9th instant, ought not to be doubted ; especially, as he had made an inquiry into the affair, at the request of the majority of the Board ; that the general behavior of the Nabob has been, and continues to be such, that further application to himself or officers, on any points whatsoever, ought as much as possible to be avoided ; but especially in this case, as Syed Mahomed Cawn must know, that this information must come from our Chief and Council at Cossimbuzar ; and consequently our doubting the truth of it, must lessen the credit of that Board
in

in his eyes. Mr. Watts further thinks, that Mr. Chambers may be wrote to, directing him to endeavor to procure copies of the funnuds and perwannahs, that may have been sent down from the Nabob on this subject, or any other proofs he may be able to get.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

MR. MARRIOTT agrees in opinion with the President.

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

MR. JOHNSTONE does not think it of any consequence to make this further enquiry, as Mr. Chambers having been wrote to at the desire of the majority of the members then in Calcutta, may be supposed to have satisfied himself of the truth of what he now publickly informs the Board; nor would Syed Mahomed Cawn's denying to have received such an order, be any proof of the tomtoms not having been beat. Further, because he thinks the other * pieces of

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intelligence;

* That the Nabob had sent bodies of troops to different parts of the country, and was busy in warlike preparations.

intelligence, which Mr. Chambers gave us in his letter, may incline us more implicitly to the belief of this, and the certainty of the Nabob's intentions against us, which we must hear from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, before any answer could come from Mr. Chambers.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

MR. CARTIER thinks it would be proper to direct Mr. Chambers to enquire of Syed Mahomed Cawn, whether he has received such an order from the Nabob, and to endeavor to get a copy of it.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

MR. BATSON cannot doubt, but the proclamation concerning cutting down the mulberry-trees was actually made; and he thinks, the President's seeming still to doubt it, and desiring a further enquiry to be made for the confirmation of it, is with a design to discourage Mr. Chambers from sending us intelligence, agreeable to his practice, in regard to the intelligence, which he (Mr. Batson) formerly sent down in several of
the

the Nabob's and Petrus's letters *.

The Opinion of the Majority, and Resolution in Consequence.

THE majority of the Board being of the President's opinion. Agreed, Mr. Chambers be wrote to accordingly."

A FEW

* As the reflection contained in the latter part of Mr. Batson's minute, will be judged to have required some reply, I shall here insert an extract of the minute which followed, tho' foreign from the subject in hand; this may serve for one instance of the scandalous and indecent behavior, which by the intemperance of some of the members, and the ready connivance of the rest, had taken place in our Councils.

The President's Question to Mr. Batson.

"The President desires Mr. Batson may be asked, whether by several of the Nabob's and Petrus's letters, he means those copies of † Persian letters, said to be the Nabob's and Petrus's, read in consultation the 4th of March, 1762, and which after prosecuting the enquiry for several months with the utmost attention, the Board judged to be not authentick.

Mr. Batson's Answer.

Mr. Batson answers, it is those letters he means, and he doth not find, on perusing the proceedings, that the Board did think them not authentick; and as the President has solemnly declared, that he knows

A FEW days after the following answer was received.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Chambers to the Governor and Council. Dated April 16, 1763.

“ **Y**OUR favor of the 12th instant I
“ have duly received, in answer to

“ your
knows nothing of Cawn Bahadre’s coming to Calcutta, as related in that correspondence, he desires him to confirm the same by oath, otherwise he (Mr. Batson) shall continue to look on his declaration as false.

The President’s Reply.

Altho’ the President thinks it a very improper method of proceeding, that any member of the Board should be put to his oath on any occasion, excepting where the law requires it; and that the word of every member of the Board should be regarded as an oath; yet for the satisfaction of the Company, in a matter where their interest is so much concerned, and in which Mr. Batson has called his (the President’s) honor so much in question, he desires he may be put to his oath before the Board.

The President’s Oath.

I do solemnly swear, that I never to my knowledge saw or heard of a man, known by the name of Cawn Bahadre; nor did any man ever make to me such a proposal, nor did I ever hear of such a proposal, as he is said to have been commissioned with, until the copies of the Persian letters were received from Mr. Batson.

“ your question, from whence I had my
“ intelligence ; I can only say from the
“ vackeel Kissenindee, and several other
“ merchants, who, on hearing the re-
“ port, acquainted me with it, as did
“ also a considerable dealer in that arti-
“ cle, who says, he was told, that in five
“ days the mulberry-trees must be all ta-
“ ken up; but he has heard nothing
“ since, and I believe it was only a false
“ report, occasioned, as I have since
“ learnt, from a custom of transplanting
“ once in two or three years. I asked
“ Syed Mahomed Cawn concerning the
“ order; he says, he has received no such,
“ nor given any. I have requested of
“ him to endeavor to find out the persons
“ who spread the report, and to punish
“ them. The report was not only here,
“ but on the other side the great river.
“ It will be impossible for me to trace it
“ to the foundation ; I have used already
“ every method in my power, but in vain.”

NOTWITHSTANDING the proposed
negotiation, the Board judged it expedi-
ent

ent to take early precautions, in case it should not be attended with success, by forming a plan for the operations of the war. The resolutions upon this subject I shall enter at large, and the debates which followed them. I cannot pass by the latter, without taking notice of the proposal made by Mr. Johnstone, and supported by Mr. Batson, for authorizing the gentlemen at Patna, to begin the war upon the bare appearances of an hostile intention in the Nabob. The sentiments of Mr. Ellis were too well known, to leave it a doubt, that he would instantly avail himself of such a power, to declare an open rupture, which might have been justified even by the report of a common hircarra, or any pretence as loose, which he might think sufficient (since he was the judge) to construe into an hostile intention in the Nabob. It will be found, that when such a power was afterwards lodged in his hands, such was actually the consequence.

Extract of Consultation, April 14, 1763.

(*Present Mess. Vanfittart, Adams, Batson, Billers, Cartier, Hastings, Johnstone, Marriott and Watts.*)

“ **A**LTHO’ it is to be hoped, that the disputes with the Nabob will yet come to an amicable issue, it is thought necessary to be prepared with a plan of operations, which may be most expedient to insure success, in case of a contrary event.

It is therefore resolved,

FIRST, That in case of a rupture with the Nabob, and the Nabob should march towards Patna, in order to attack our troops and factory there, they shall endeavour to possess themselves of the city, if they think they can accomplish it without much loss, and there remain, until they shall receive further orders from us or major Adams. But if they should think that by attacking the city, they run a risque of failing in the attempt, or of losing many men, they must then take such post, as they think they can best defend themselves in; and if they can, cover the factory, until they shall receive further

further orders, as above-mentioned; that in either case, they must be careful to secure all the provisions they can of every kind, and also draught and carriage bullocks.

SECONDLY, That in case of a rupture with the Nabob, and he should remain at Mongheer, the Patna party shall act as in the first case.

THIRDLY, That in case of a rupture, and the Nabob marches down this way, the Patna party shall, after attacking and possessing themselves of the city, move down as far as Ruinulla, to be in greater readiness to join major Adams, and there wait for orders from major Adams, unless from an alteration of circumstances, their own discretion shall direct them to act otherwise.

THAT in any of the foregoing cases, these are our present thoughts; but that we do not mean by such a plan, to restrict them from taking any advantage that may offer, in case of a rupture declared.

THIS plan being settled for the Patna party,

party, in case of a rupture, the question is put,

How they shall be informed of a rupture, or what they shall construe as such?

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

MR. JOHNSTONE thinks, the Nabob's stopping our communication by letter, and moving, in consequence, with his army and artillery towards Patna, when there is no other enemy in the country adjacent, against whom he may have cause to move, or it ought, in reason, to be believed, that he directs his march, or the march of his army, this way, attended by any correspondent acts of hostility of his forces stationed at or round Patna, such as stopping their provisions and communication with the country, or opposing our people in the execution of their business, might, in the present circumstances, be construed by them as a rupture, and that they might immediately proceed to act as directed in the plan.

The President's Opinion.

THE President thinks Mr. Johnstone's proposal is extremely vague, and leaves it

it in the power of the gentlemen at Patna, by an error in judgment, to involve us in a war which we would rather avoid, and therefore would propose, that the orders to the gentlemen at Patna should be after this manner: “ That
 “ they will be instantly informed by us,
 “ if we should be obliged to declare a
 “ rupture with the Nabob, and that,
 “ therefore, they must wait for such in-
 “ formation, before they act upon the
 “ plan laid down, keeping, in the mean
 time, well on their guard, and de-
 “ fending themselves and the Compa-
 “ ny’s rights against all attacks.” That he proposes these limited orders the rather, because he looks upon the party at Patna to be of such strength *, as to run no risk from any attack of the Nabob.

THE question being put to the rest of the Board, which of these opinions should be adopted.

Mr. Watts’s, &c. Opinion.

MESS. WATTS, Marriott, Hastings, Cartier and Billers, agree to the President’s.

* See the return annexed.

Mr.

*A Monthly Return of the Hon^{ble} COMPANY'S ~~REGIMENT~~ S, under the Command of
 Captain Peter Farstairs at ~~Patna~~ April 1763.*

| COMPANIES | Officers | | | | | | | Ser-jeants | Drums | Effective | | | Total non-Commiss- ioned & private? | | |
|---|--------------|--------------|-------------|---------|-----------|----------------|----------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------|--------|--|--------------|------|
| | Commissioned | | | | Staff | | | | | Rank | File | Totals | | | |
| | Captains | Capt. Lieut. | Lieutenants | Ensigns | Adjutants | Quartermasters | Surgeons | Chirurgeons | Fit for duty | | | | Sick | Fit for duty | Sick |
| Captain Farstairs's Company | 1 | | 1 | 2 | | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 43 | 5 | 48 | 55 |
| Cap ^t Treacher's..... D ^o ~ | 1 | | 3 | 2 | 1 | | | | 4 | | 3 | 42 | 6 | 48 | 55 |
| Cap ^t Parry's..... D ^o ~ | 1 | | 1 | 4 | | 1 | | | 4 | | 3 | 45 | 3 | 48 | 55 |
| Cap ^t Summers's D ^o ~ | 1 | | 1 | 2 | | | | | 4 | | 3 | 42 | 6 | 48 | 55 |
| Total | 4 | | 4 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 15 | 1 | 12 | 172 | 20 | 192 | 220 |

*NB. A Serjeant and One private of Captain Summers's Company
 absent on Furlow at Calcutta included.*

| ARTILLERY | Officers | | Ser- jeants | Corpo- rals | Drums | Bomb- ardiers | Gun- ners | Matro- sopes | Total non commis- sioned & private | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|------|-------------|------|---|----|---|----|
| | Commis- sioned | Staff | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Captain | Pl. Treasurer | Commissary | Adjutant | Pl for duty | Sick | Pl for duty | Sick | Pl for duty | Sick | Pl for duty | Sick | | | | |
| 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 3 | | 2 | | 4 | | 9 | 1 | 35 | 2 | 57 |

| S E E P O Y S | European Officers | | | | | | | | | | | | as Commissioned Officers | | Drums and Trumpets | | | | Effective Rank and File | | | | Total Rank and File | Total including Officers | Commandants | Black Adjutants | Sergeants | Linguists | Writers | Native men | Black Doctors | Ammunition |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|---------|-----------|-----------|------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------|-------|----------|-------|--------------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------------------------|----|----|----|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|---------|------------|---------------|------------|
| | Commissioned | | | | | | Staff & near commissions | | Fit for Duty | | Sick | | Fit for Duty | | Sick | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Captains | Lieutenants | Ensigns | Adjutants | Sergeants | Subalterns | Tomatoeaters | Subalterns | Tomatoeaters | Drums | Trumpets | Drums | Trumpets | Drums | Trumpets | Drums | Trumpets | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2. | 1. | 1. | 1. | 4. | 9. | 24. | 3. | 36. | 26. | 9. | 1. | 36. | 61. | 929. | 3. | 25. | 1018. | 1090. | 1. | 1. | 9. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 9 | 26 | 1 | 36 | 27 | 8 | 1 | 36 | 64 | 911 | 43 | 1018 | 1090 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 3 | 4 | | | | | | |
| 5. | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | 4 | 12 | | 16 | 12 | 4 | | 16 | 27 | 461 | 1 | 8 | 497 | 529 | 1 | | 4 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 2 | | | | | |
| Total | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 20 | 22 | 62 | 1 | 88 | 65 | 21 | 1 | 88 | 132 | 2301 | 4 | 76 | 2533 | 2709 | 3 | 2 | 22 | 3 | 3 | 22 | 8 | 10 | | | | | |

*Signed Peter Farstairs, Capt. in the
 Company's Infantry.*

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

MR. BATSON is of Mr. Johnstone's opinion, because, after the Nabob has once commenced hostilities against us, the tying up our party at Patna, from acting on the offensive, as well as the defensive, will give him an advantage, and subject us to a disadvantage in cases of exigency that may happen.

Major Adams's Opinion.

MAJOR ADAMS thinks the gentlemen at Patna ought not to commence hostilities without the orders of the Board, but that, should the Nabob march a large force towards Patna, without any apparent reason, or otherwise commit any act of hostility, they should take any step for their own security, even to the taking of the city of Patna, if it should be deemed absolutely necessary, and there defend themselves without proceeding further, until they receive the orders of the Board.

Opinion of the Majority and Resolution in Consequence.

THE majority of the Board being of the President's opinion.

AGREED, That we write to Patna, and transmit them a copy of these resolutions for their government.

Mr. Johnstone's Dissent.

MR. JOHNSTONE begs leave to dissent from this resolution of the majority, ordered to be transmitted to Patna, because, he thinks the restraining the gentlemen there from acting offensively, till they have notice from hence of our declaring a breach with the Nabob, although he may proceed to direct open acts of hostility against them, is giving the Nabob all the advantages he could desire, should his resolution be to attack that detachment; the first, in hopes of overpowering it before our army can arrive to its assistance. The very intention of our council, Mr. Johnstone understood, was to prevent the ill-consequences that might attend a stoppage of our correspondence by letter, by the Patna party not having directions how to act, in case the Nabob began hostilities, and prevented our intelligence by removing the dawks, and stopping all letters; should the Nabob march towards Patna, we can expect no
notice

notice of it but from the chief there, which, as the dauks will of course be removed, may very probably not reach us in less than ten or twelve days ; as many more may elapse before they receive the Board's declaration of a rupture, by which they are tied up at least twenty days, not to attempt any thing against the Nabob, or the city of Patna, though their only hope of taking it, depends on their attempting it before the Nabob can reach it; and their circumstances, in regard to provision, and in many other respects may be such, as that their preservation may greatly depend on their carrying it. In war, to prevent and defeat the designs of an enemy, is allowed to be just as well as prudent ; but this liberty, so essential to self-preservation, is denied to our fellow-servants, though ever so fair occasion may offer. Mr. Johnstone is not more for their declaring war and beginning hostilities the first, than any other gentlemen at the Board ; but he thinks it ought, and may be very reasonably left to the prudence of the gentlemen at

Patna, to judge what are open acts of hostility on the part of the Nabob, who is already armed and bids us defiance.

Further Proceedings of the Board.

It is further resolved,

THAT if a rupture does happen, major Adams shall march with the King's regiment, and all the Company's troops at Gherettee and Calcutta; captain Broadbrook's and Maclean's battalions of seepoys compleated, also captain Champion's company of military from Jellalore, together with the following artillery, viz. two twelve-pounders, six six-pounders, and two howitzers. The major is, therefore, desired to make the necessary lists of stores accordingly. And it is further resolved, That seven companies of seepoys from Jellalore, and three from Burdwan, shall, in such case, be ordered to Calcutta to compleat the two battalions, to go with major Adams, and serve for the duties of the Presidency."

ON the 18th, we received the following letter from Mr. Ellis and his council, dated March 5, 1763, which will shew how

how strongly the report prevailed, that our forces at Patna would attack the city, since the Nabob's officer commanding there, thought it necessary to take such extraordinary precautions for the defence of it. It will shew also, in how much contempt they held the Nabob and his forces at this time; although they could afterwards exaggerate them as much, when it served as an argument to support their application, for a power to act as they thought proper.

Letter from Patna.

“**Y**OUR favour of the 24th ultimo, we received the 2d instant, and immediately dispatched the letter inclosed therein to the Nabob. As far as we can judge, he inclines not to pacifick measures; for since the receipt of your letters of the 7th and 10th ultimo, he has been constantly sending troops into this city; the commanders of his forces in different parts of the country hereabouts, are under orders to assemble at Patna, and some of them are actually in

motion, by which it seems as if he intended a blow at this party ; on that head, however, we are perfectly easy, but under the deepest concern for the fate of the city, which we are hourly apprehensive will be plundered by the licentious, undisciplined rabble within its walls. The suburbs are already entirely destroyed, and the wretched situation of people of all ranks, is more easy to conceive than describe.

MEER MINDY CAWN is the name of the person whom the Nabob has appointed his naib here, but to this time he has not paid the chief the usual compliment of acquainting him with his arrival ; he carries on the preparations for attack or defence (for as yet we know not which to call them) with more vigor than his predecessor, and thereby adds to the terror and alarm of the inhabitants. The night before last, the whole of his people were under arms till the morning ; great part of yesterday the gates were kept shut, and the relief of our hospital guard refused admittance ; upon which, the chief
wrote

wrote him a letter ; a copy of it we now inclose, as likewise of his answer. The guard has been since admitted, but the burbunna gate still remains shut.

It is commonly talked, that the Nabob has sent this Mindy Cawn to drive out the English ; but you will judge that there is not much danger to be apprehended from a man, whose talent seems chiefly to lie in founding his own praises. His insolence may, however, reduce us to the disagreeable necessity of taking the city from him. With the greatest difficulty, we have collected money sufficient to pay our Europeans for this month, and our seepoys for March ; and have not, at this time, a single rupee in cash ; we therefore request you will take the most speedy method of supplying us."

MR. JOHNSTONE, who had already* interrupted the publick business by personal reflections on me, for the distinction made by the Nabob in his letter to Mahomed Allee, of the Company's duf-

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* See page 77, of this Vol.

tuck and my own ; resumed the same subject in the following minute, in the consultation of the 18th, to which I shall subjoin my reply.

Extract of Consultation of April 18, 1763.

Mr. Johnstone's Minute.

“ **M**R. JOHNSTONE begs leave to remark, in answer to the President's minute of the 28th of March, that the true translation of the paragraph of the Nabob's letter, to Mahomed Allee, No. 29, hereto subjoined, done by Mr. Gulston, is very different from that which Mr. Vansittart appeals to, and stands entered in the country correspondence, and which Mr. Johnstone objected to at that time, though by not then being able to get the original, it could not be altered. The very letter produced by the President, which though wrote after the appearance of his order of the Nabob's, he would refer to as a proof, that no agreement of this kind had ever been mentioned betwixt him and the Nabob, plainly and expressly declares the same
sense

sense of the paragraph that we have followed, referring to the gomastahs of Mr. Vansittart's private business, who might have either the Company's, or his own private dustuck, that they should not be impeded further.

IT does not appear from any line in the Nabob's letter, that the Governor's trade was stopped, nor any instance or place referred to, which would have been the case, and particularized, it may be supposed, as well in regard to them, as to his particular gomastah Coja Wannis.

By this, and many other of the Nabob's publick letters and orders, it appears, he considered and directed nine *per cent.* to be levied on whatever goods are purchased, being the produce of this country, without regard to their being for exportation or inland trade."

Extract of the Nabob's Letter (delivered in by Mr. Johnstone.)

" **T**HE Governor writes to me, that
" you interrupt his own gomastah;
" notwithstanding in the paper of
" regula-

“ regulations, there is no distinction of
 “ private and publick. Yet, as the Go-
 “ vernor is my friend, I accordingly
 “ write to you, not to impede the go-
 “ mastah of his private trade, that may
 “ have with him either the Governor’s
 “ or Company’s dustuck.”

The President’s Reply.

IN answer to Mr. Johnstone’s further minute, I observe, that the only difference between Mr. Rogers’s translation of the postscript of the Nabob’s letter to Mahomed Allee, and Mr. Gulston’s *, is, that in the first it stands *the gomastah*, in the other *the said gomastah* ; but whether the Nabob’s intention was general, or particular, all that I assert, is, that I never desired, nor would accept of any privilege, for my gomastahs, over those
of

* See Mr. Rogers’s translation, page 1, of this Vol. Mr. Gulston’s is the above extract, delivered in by Mr. Johnstone, who thinks proper to produce that part only of the Nabob’s letter, because in the beginning of the very same letter, it appears, that the trade in question, which Mahomed Allee had stopped, belonging to me, was a part of thirty bales of cloth, provided for me with the Company’s dustuck.

of the rest of the gentlemen in the service; and that I never sealed dustucks with any other than the Company's usual dustuck seal. My letter to the Nabob, No. I. dated January 24, contained the complaint I mentioned, of two parcels of my own goods being stopped, with the Company's dustuck, under the charge of Ramnaut Holdar, and Coja Askafuk, belonging to Coja Wannis; and it was in consequence of that complaint, the Nabob sent the orders in question to Mahomed Allee, in which the complaint of Coja Askafuk, and Coja Wannis is particularly noticed. As soon as I got a sight of these orders, I wrote the Nabob, as by the extract entered in consultation the 28th of March, to let him see that I did not mean to have any particular indulgence for my own gomastahs, but expected equal justice with others."

MESSIEURS Amyatt and Hay remained some time at Cossimbuzar, waiting for the Nabob's approbation of their visit to proceed. His answer arrived on the
20th,

20th, and signified, tho' reluctantly, his consent to receive the deputation. This letter, and one received some days before, being laid before the Board, it was determined by the majority, after a long debate, that Mess. Amyatt and Hay should proceed. The Nabob's letters, and the debates upon the subject, I shall enter as follows.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated April 2, 1763.

“ I HAVE been favored with your letter of the 24th of March. I did not expect, that while I was going to take another country you would send troops into mine. You some time ago wrote to me, while I was at Beteea, that the business of the country, in the districts was obstructed; and that you should send people to prevent it; but you did not write that you would seize and carry away my aumils, and disgrace them. I do not write answers to Mr. Ellis's letters on this account, because, from the beginning, he had one meaning in his mouth,

mouth, and another in his heart; and acted contrary to what he wrote, as in the affair of the opium, where he took a bond from all the merchants, by which he was to purchase it himself; and for this Mr. Ellis wrote to Nobit Roy. But concerning the salt petre, which is the Company's own business, he wrote nothing, nor did he ask any questions relative to it; but at once sent seepoys, and seized the aumil of Taajepoor, whom he accused of impeding the salt petre, and carried him away bound. As the salt petre business is of the greatest importance, it was proper, that he should write in the same manner as he did about the opium. When seepoys were sent, Rajah Nobit Roy sent his Chubdar to him, to know on what business they were going into the pergunahs. Mr. Ellis answered, that when they returned from their business, he would know. A copy of Nobit Roy's letter I inclose. If any one had refused to listen to him, then he might have sent people to prevent his business being obstructed, not to bind and
carry

carry away my officers. I before wrote you, that I was coming to Rajemahl, and would act according to your directions ; but not regarding this, you sent people to the districts, and created disturbances. Unable to help myself, I have taken off all duties.

IF notwithstanding this, you send people to the pergunahs, I shall doubtless imagine you have another ally in view.

WITH regard to your sending Mr. Amyatt, I before wrote, that of mercantile affairs, nothing is left to be settled. I have now only the revenues of a small parcel of land. If you send him to regulate this, let me know. As to mercantile affairs, I have relinquished every thing, and nothing remains for him to negotiate. In future, should you have any thing to do in respect to the revenues of the country, do it with some other person.

IN regard to the expression of *servants and men of low condition*, which is thought to reflect on the gentlemen of Council. Hitherto I have had no knowledge of the gentlemen of the Council. The ser-

vants

vants and men of low condition, are whatever persons make a difference between the reputation and business of the Company and mine, and endeavor to create a disturbance and disputes between us, and what can be more plain and express than this? In a place where one man, or letter of yours, would be sufficient to clear your business, and carry it on in a proper manner there, to send seepoys (servants and men of low condition) and companies of seepoys, to take my officers and carry them away bound, and do their utmost to make a disturbance between you and me. Consider, Sir, whether this is a proceeding of men of low character, or of men of rank and dignity?"

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated April 11, 1763.

“ I HAVE received your friendly letter,
“ in which you write me, that “ if
“ you and the gentlemen of Council
“ were inclined to bring on a rupture,
“ the disputes and hostile proceedings,
“ in several places, would have given
“ sufficient

“ sufficient occasion for declaring it im-
 “ mediately ; but that a rupture, and
 “ the setting up another Nazim, is by
 “ no means your desire, for which rea-
 “ son you had appointed Mr. Amyatt,
 “ and Mr. Hay, to confer with me, that
 “ the disturbances might be put an end
 “ to, and our friendship confirmed ; and
 “ that besides the article of customs,
 “ they had other articles in charge,
 “ therefore, I should write to those two
 “ gentlemen, desiring them, in a friend-
 “ ly manner, to come ; for with respect
 “ to the customs, the orders lately given
 “ by the fircar, were not consistent with
 “ the Company’s rights and interests ;
 “ and that if I should refuse to confer
 “ with those two gentlemen, it would
 “ occasion a rupture between us.” Sir,
 it is surprizing, that you do not see the
 actions of your own people, and will not
 give credit to them.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaties be-
 tween us and the country, and the mo-
 ney I have given for the Company’s ar-
 my, the only favor shewn me on all sides,

is the sending troops, and seizing the aumils of the district of Dacca, attacking and beating the tannadars of Jatirapoor; and, on the Patna side, taking my aumils, and keeping them in prison. What are greater hostilities than these? It is surprizing, that you do not see the disturbances of your own people, and will derive every thing, tending to hostilities, from my words and letters; and having prepared an army, the gentlemen hold themselves ready to begin a war with me. I am really struck with amazement.

WITH respect to Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay, I before wrote, that if they came only on a visit, my house was theirs.

Now I write again, that if they come with only one or two companies of necessary attendants, I have no objection. But I must remark, that on the one side, you use only violent measures; while on the other, looking towards the treaties between us, you send to confer. A conference, attended with such unreasonable violences, never was heard of in any

country, and certainly you intend to do nothing contrary to custom.

By what you write of other articles of business, besides the customs, I understand, that for this remaining country, which is left for my share, you have appointed me aumil, or regard me as wadadar, or zemindar, or gomastah, or muttasfeddee; that you have given in charge to the said gentlemen other articles of business, exclusive of customs. Write me fully and explicitly of this, that I may be acquainted and act accordingly."

Extract of Consultation of the 20th of April, 1763. (Present Mess. Vansittart, Batson, Cartier, Hastings, Johnstone, Marriott and Watts.) The Nabob's Letter of the 11th Instant, being read and debated on at the Board, as also his Answer to Mr. Amyatt's Letter wrote at the same time.

"THE question was put, whether Mess. Amyatt and Hay should in consequence be recommended to proceed
to

to Mongheer, and demand of the Nabob a definitive answer to the points contained in their instructions.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

MR. WATTS is of opinion, that the present letters received from the Nabob, are as evasive as those read in consultation the 11th of April; and that they are not in the least satisfactory, therefore thinks, from the treachery the Moors are famous for, and the Nabob's disposition and character, that it is unsafe for Mess. Amyatt and Hay to proceed; but as every method ought to be tried to prevent a rupture, he proposes, that the letter be sent to those gentlemen, and if they believe no risk would attend them, he is of opinion, it would certainly be very proper for them to proceed to Mongheer, and demand a positive answer to their instructions.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

MR. MARRIOTT is of opinion, that a copy of the Nabob's letter to the President, and his letter to Mr. Amyatt, should be transmitted to Mess. Amyatt and Hay; and that they should be re-

commended to proceed to Mongheer, and require, from the Nabob, a definitive answer to every point of their instructions, as being the most speedy and certain method of bringing things to a conclusion.

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

I THINK the Nabob gives not Mess. Amyatt and Hay any greater encouragement to go on their deputation, by the letters now before us, than in those he wrote of the 2d instant. The Nabob only consents to receive their visit, if they come as friends ; but without satisfying us, he will treat with them on business, on which we had demanded a positive answer ; and the expressions of his letters induce me to think, he will make use of this pretext, of his not having consented to enter on business, to decline treating on any of the points for which these gentlemen are deputed.

I WOULD leave it to those gentlemen to judge and decide, whether they have sufficient reason to proceed in hopes of success from such an equivocal letter ; and, in the mean time, would have all the
stores

stores transported to Gherettee, and all the other preparations made agreeable to the indent of major Adams. That whatever resolution be taken hereafter, a day may not be lost in waiting after we have determined.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

THE Nabob, in my judgment, plainly declares, that he is very willing to receive Mr. Amyatt's visit, and only expresses his fears, lest he should be going upon an hostile intention ; for this reason, and to put a stop to the insurrections which these disputes have given rise to, in the province of Bahar, and the alarm spread thro' both provinces, I think Mess. Amyatt and Hay should proceed, without loss of time, on their deputation.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

MR. CARTIER is of the same opinion with Mr. Marriott.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

IN the sense I understand the Nabob's letters, he still refuses to treat with Mess. Amyatt and Hay on any matters of business, and still continues in the same evil

disposition towards us ; I therefore think it improper for those gentlemen to proceed on their deputation.

The President's Opinion, and that of the Majority.

THE President agrees in opinion with Mr. Marriott ; and that appearing also to be the opinion of the majority.

Resolution in Consequence.

AGREED, that we do write accordingly to Mess. Amyatt and Hay."

WHILST this point was in debate, the following letter was received from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Board. Dated April 11, 1763.

" **I**T is highly necessary, that you should bring matters to a speedy issue with the Nabob, for the disaffected zemindars, and other male-contented, taking the advantage of his infamous and foolish behavior, are rising up in arms, and threaten destruction to the country. He has already lost Beteca, and we have intelligence, that Camgar Cawn, Baboo Cawn, and some other Chiefs, are plundering the country about Doudnagar. The Bouge-
poor

poor Rajahs are also assembling forces on the other side of the river; and we daily expect to hear of their entering and possessing themselves of their antient domains."

WHATEVER was the design of those gentlemen, in painting, in such strong colors, the troubled state of the province of Bahar, it could not but have some weight with the Board, in shewing the necessity of putting an end as speedily as possible to our disputes with the Nabob, and must have afforded a convincing argument of the little inclination the Nabob could have to protract them, since the consequences, according to this representation, appeared so fatal to his country, and destructive to his government. At the same time, truth obliges me to observe, that the whole story was without foundation, it being well known, that the province never enjoyed a state of more perfect tranquility. Not a zemindar in the country, ever lifted up his hand against the Nabob, from the beginning of our troubles; and Camgar

Cawn, in particular, upon the first call, joined him with all his forces. The aversion which the Nabob shewed to Mess. Amyatt and Hay's visit is very observable, thro' every one of his letters, and the reason is as obvious. He was now firmly persuaded by Mr. Ellis's conduct, and the approbation it met from the Board, that they were resolved to break with him; and he well knew Mr. Amyatt's connection with that gentleman, and his disaffection to himself. These circumstances, added to the report (which he readily believed) of our forces being actually on the march against him, made him conceive, that the proposed negotiation was only a blind to other designs; and that Mess. Amyatt and Hay were going to conduct or assist them. I thought no way so likely to convince him his apprehensions were groundless, as the arrival of those gentlemen, when he would see, with his own eyes, that they had only a small escort.

ON the second of May a letter arrived from the Nabob, addressed to the Company, of which the following is a translation.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Company. Dated April 21, 1763.

“**T**HE particulars of the ruinous state of Bengal, you will have been doubtless acquainted with from the writings of Mr. Vansittart, your Governor, and the other gentlemen of the Council, the same I will briefly lay before you.

THE Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, by the assistance of Colonel Clive, became Nazim of Bengal. But by reason of the infirmities of old age, he was incapable of bestowing that attention which was necessary to the administration of affairs ; especially after the death of his son by a stroke of lightning, when an excess of grief and affliction, deprived him of the exercise of his reason and understanding, and added to the infirmities of old age. At this time the Prince of the empire, whilst his father was yet in possession of the throne, by reason of the enmity of the Omrahs coming down from Delly, arrived in the districts of Patna, and caused great troubles there.

ALTHO’

ALTHO' Aulumgheer, his father, wrote to Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, to send the Prince to his presence; yet, as the Prince had no fixed residence, the endeavors of the Nabob afore-named, and of the English army, were productive of no profitable effect, whilst the revenues of the country were entirely obstructed, and the business also of the Company's commerce was much impeded. During this confusion, the Nabob afore-named became indebted about two crores of rupees to his army, and the troops of the Company, besides the debt owing to the Sircar of the Company, from the Nabob afore-named; of which, from his extreme negligence, and want of authority, he was unable to discharge the smallest part*, and he was reduced to such an extremity, that the army surrounded, and tumultuously gathered about him every day for their arrears, whilst the demands of the Royal treasure became more pressing.

BESIDES this, he was indebted to other merchants; and the Morattas lay at
the

* In the original, the tenth of a tenth.

the distance of five or six coss from Moorshedabad, encreasing the general disorder, and possessing themselves of the whole country. Upon this occasion, the honor and dignity of the Nabob aforementioned, was openly attacked by the hands of the army and other people, who surrounded his house, and crowded upon and underneath his walls, loading him with opprobrious language, and raining stones and bricks upon him.

WHEN I saw things come to this pass, and the army and the people, who, from the prospect of their impending ruin, had applied themselves to me, were a little appeased; I offered myself as security for the arrears of the army, and I satisfied the people. Then, by the means of Mr. Hastings, I made known to the Governor, Mr. Vansittart, the extremity to which my honor was reduced; the universal confusion which reigned in the Nizamut, that all methods had proved ineffectual, and that the people and the army had applied themselves to me, and therefore I desired him to come and assist

list me. The Governor, Mr. Vanfittart, seeing the disorderly state of the Nizimut, and of the currency of the Company's affairs, judged it highly adviseable, that I should be invested with the direction of the affairs of the country, and the command of the forces of the Nabob afore-named; with this view, he came with some of his council to Moorsheda-bad, and advised the Nabob in these terms. "Do you remain at ease and in
 " quiet in the palace, and entrust all
 " your affairs to him *, who will serve
 " you with his heart and life, and ef-
 " fectually restore good order to your
 " country." The Nabob afore-named, not consenting to remain at Moorsheda-bad, immoveably declared that he would go to Mecca, and accordingly, with this design, departed to Calcutta, where I have ever since remitted a monthly sum for his subsistence. For this cause, regarding the welfare of the people, and the preservation of my own honor and character, which were united with the
 Nabob

* Meer Cossim.

Nabob afore-named, I strenuously applied myself to the management and establishment of the affairs of these provinces.

THE Governor, Mr. Vansittart, represented to me, that the Company suffered a great loss by the heavy expences of the English forces, and he desired that I would assign a tract of land for their pay, and they should attend me, and be of service to me : I replied, that I would pay them ready money. When he consented not to this, exclusive of the ready money, effects, lands, and the farm of salt-petre, given by the Nabob Meer Jaffier Cawn, I assigned three districts, which produced an income of fifty lacks of rupees for the charges of the forces of the Company ; that they might collect the rents as they pleased, and apply them to the defraying of their expences, and when called upon, afford me assistance. Besides this, I furnished five lacks of rupees, as an assistance which was necessary for the charges of the Company's forces, in the siege of the fort of Pondicherry.

cherry. Also, twenty lacks of rupees, the debt owing from the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, I entirely discharged. At that time, the troubles caused by the Prince increasing, I marched from Moorshedabad to the province of Bahar, expecting to be assisted by the Company's forces; and as the father of Shah * Aalum was dead, I addressed the Shah, requesting, that whatever improper measures had been taken by Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, he would pardon my offences, and the sums due to the imperial sircar I would pay. But several gentlemen and chiefs of the Company's forces (of whom there were at that time many dismissions and changes) making certain agreements with the Prince, conducted him to Patna, and associating with some of the muttasedees of the Nizamut, and having taken the fort of Patna into their own possession, they laid me under an heavy expence to my troops for six months, and

strove

* The name assumed by the Prince, on the death of his father.

strove to throw all my affairs into disorder. By the blessing of God, Mr. Vansittart remaining firm to his treaty and agreement, called several gentlemen from Patna to Calcutta, so that their designs proved abortive; and by paying and promising, I prevailed upon Shah Aalum to return toward the imperial city. What I have done these three years for the welfare of the people, the care of the country, the preservation of your friendship, and the currency of your affairs, is as manifest as the sun. There is no occasion for me to write it, and without doubt, you have been sufficiently informed of it from the addresses of your Governor, Mr. Henry Vansittart. The condition of these three years, how shall I write, and what I have suffered, and yet do suffer, from the hands of several gentlemen? The flame of enmity every day rises higher; whatever they please they do, binding and carrying away my officers; whatever comes into their mouths they speak, and they place guards upon my houses and forts.

ON any taxable goods imported, I have never troubled them for one rupee ; and such of the most valuable commodities of the country, as they have bought and carried to other ports, have passed in like manner, without any demand from me for duties upon them. Yet not contented with this extensive trade in all articles free from duties, they carry on a trade in many things not customary, such as dried fish, straw, bamboos, beetle-nut, salt, tobacco, timbers, and other trifling articles, which used to afford the means of subsistence to the poor and indigent in the country, nor are fit for exportation, nor can produce any profit to the Company ; and for their own trade and advantage they raise disputes.

By such means, the poor, and the inhabitants of the country were reduced to, and still continue in ruin and misery ; of all these matters I wrote repeatedly to the governor, Mr. Vansittart. Altho' he did not consider, nor do justice to the poor, nor redress their oppressions, yet for my sake he came to me, and agreeing

ing to a small duty on goods bought and sold in the country, he returned to Calcutta. But several gentlemen of the council, not regarding the words or acts of the Governor, proceeded to improper and unbecoming measures, and fixed the root of enmity so deep, that there was no resource left in Bengal, and the disorders of the Nizamut are daily increasing. Whatever I say or write upon this occasion, these gentlemen will not consider, nor do me justice : disregarding the treaty and good name of the Company, they desire not to abstain from hurting their own characters with the Company, nor to abide by our agreement.

BUT I have one hope yet left in the justice of the Company, since in the presence of the Company, the iniquity of any one, whether relation or stranger, servant or friend, meets not with countenance ; and such practices as tend to the subversion of the country, and the ruin of the inhabitants, will, upon no account, be approved of by you. Assuredly, on hearing these things, you will

graciously befriend me; and I, for my own part, ever attentive to the friendship, the confirmation of the union, and the observance of the treaty and agreement with the Company, which I have in my hands, under the seal of the Company, do remain, and will continue, in quiet and forbearance to the utmost of my power. I have that reliance on your friendship and benevolence, that you will, in the strictest manner, enjoin the chiefs of the army, and the gentlemen that reside in, or may come into these parts to assist and befriend me according to the treaty and agreement, nor in contradiction thereto, to labour at introducing disorders into the country, and amongst the inhabitants.

It is proper that you grant me an answer to this address, that hereafter I may have a written pledge of your affection and kindness, to shew to these gentlemen, that your affairs and mine may be conducted in a proper manner. In this view I shall use my endeavors, and labour with my heart and life in promoting the success of your affairs.

If

IF you refuse me this, this province, on which your commerce and my Nizamut depend, will be one entire scene of ruin and misery, without any resource left; and with the payments to the royal treasury, the charges of the army, and other necessary expences, I shall be involved in inextricable distresses. For your information I have represented this. What more shall I trouble you with? May the degree of your wealth and prosperity be for ever encreasing”.

FROM the good sense and temper apparent in this letter, I now began to flatter myself with the hopes of a reconciliation; nor were they a little encouraged by the good opinion I had of Mr. Amyatt, whom, in spite of the lengths to which the violence and unhappy influence of others had driven him, I knew to be possessed of a moderate disposition, and by nature, the most ill-suited to the litigious scenes in which he had unwarily engaged. The Nabob had always professed a favorable opinion of him; and as

by this time he must have been convinced, that the report of our forces being on the march against him, was without foundation, his objections to the visit must vanish of course. I therefore made it my endeavor, in all my letters to the Nabob, to convince him of the good intentions of Mr. Amyatt, and to persuade him to yield to the terms which were prescribed to him, repeating the assurances of my own unchanged attachment, with promises of redress from the justice of the Company, to which he had appealed. But it was now too late, our differences had taken too deep root to be removed: Mr. Ellis, encouraged by the support afforded him by the Board, continued to widen the breach; and the Nabob, tired out with repeated provocations, and more plainly convinced of my inability to protect him, lost all temper, and shewed himself from this time scarcely less violent than his enemies.

ON the 9th of May we received the following letter from the chief and council at Patna.

Patna

Patna Letter to the Board.

“ **W**E have received your favor of the 14th instant, with the resolutions of the Board, which as far as we can comprehend them, will not allow us to construe any act of the Nabob as hostile, although ever so greatly tending to our ruin, but we are to wait until we have notice from you of a rupture being declared. Who there may be to receive your commands is hard to say, but most probably, neither any of us, nor of the party now here, as we shall clearly evince.

WE have had intelligence (not from hircarras) that if the army should come from Calcutta, the Nabob intends marching here to attack us; in which case, he will certainly remove our dauks, and cut off all communication by that channel. It will be the third day of his march before we can receive certain advice of it; and a single coffid will be twelve days reaching Calcutta, provided he meets with no impediment; but it is more probable that, at such a juncture, he ne-

ver gets there, and still more so, that your answer never reaches us.

How then are we to act? This factory, it is well known, is not tenable if attacked from the city, and to abandon it, will, amongst many other evils, give such a shock to the spirit of our troops, as may induce the greatest part of our seepoys, (in whom our principal strength consists) to desert us, and go over to the Nabob, where they are better insured of success, and will meet with ample encouragement, which has not been spared, even when there was no appearance of a rupture, to those who would desert with their arms. Another substantial reason why we cannot leave the factory, is, our having put our ammunition, for its greater security, in the lower part of the house, the magazine where it before lay, being liable to be blown up by a common rocket.

BUT let us suppose, for a moment, that on the Nabob's marching against us, we quit the factory and take post; are we to sacrifice our surgeons and sick who reside in the city? For it cannot be supposed,

posed, that they will be permitted to come out, or if they could, the situation of most of them is such, that their being brought into the air, will be attended with certain death. When we have fortified ourselves in this post, our affairs are not at all mended ; for the Nabob has only to surround and starve us, whilst we, dying by inches, sit waiting for your orders, which can never arrive, but with the army, and that at the soonest will be forty days after his march from Mongheer. How are we to subsist all this time ? The Nabob seizes all provisions coming from Bengal ; and such is the scarcity here, that had it not been for the gunge, which so much pains was taken to abolish, we had long e'er now been obliged to take up arms, to procure our daily sustenance ; but was there plenty, we have not a rupee to purchase it. With the utmost difficulty we have scraped money together to pay our troops, for these two months past ; and, at this time, have not sufficient to discharge a fourth part of the demands, that will

be upon us in a few days, altho' we acquainted you of the lowness of our cash as long ago as the 2d of February. This party, 'tis true, runs no risk from the Nabob, provided we are allowed to act, and make the most of every advantage that may offer ; but if our hands are tied, our destruction becomes inevitable, such a body as this must ever act offensively and vigorously, and nip the designs of the enemy in the bud. 'Tis by such conduct only, that they can hope to preserve themselves ; and, surely, it is just and laudable to make use of every means, providence has put in our power, to defeat the attacks of a cruel and faithless enemy.

OUR safety lies in mastering the city, by a coup de main, before the Nabob gets into it ; for, afterwards, it may be impracticable, and the consequence of our acting on the defensive any where but in the city, we have already pointed out. Our distance from Calcutta is very great, and whenever the Nabob marches this way, our communication will be cut off,

off, and most probably not opened but by your army. If therefore we should obey nature's first law, we hope we shall not be found culpable, tho' it may not perfectly coincide with your orders.

WE cannot conclude without observing to you, that we think we have no ways merited the diffidence you express, nor given the least reason ever to suspect, that we would involve the Company in a war by any rash or unpremeditated step. We rather think, that we have given proof of a contrary disposition, in bearing the many insults we have received, particularly since Mehdee Allee Cawn has been appointed Naib here, whose people have even dared to abuse and call us opprobrious names aloud from the walls. We shall be as far as any, to whom the management of the Company's affairs are entrusted, from bringing them into difficulties; but when it is really necessary, shall endeavour to act with a spirit that becomes subjects of Britain, and servants of her greatest commercial body.

YOUR letters are always one, and often

ten two days earlier in date than any others from Calcutta, which gives the Nabob a great advantage in point of intelligence. We therefore request you will order them to be dispatched with the utmost expedition."

I CANNOT help remarking here, upon the unbecoming style and false reasoning used in this letter. Instead of a decent representation of their opinion, it is a passionate exclamation against the orders of the Board, which they endeavor to make appear unintelligible, and inconsistent with the safety of the Company's factory and troops at Patna.

THE orders of the Board, at which the chief and council of Patna are so much offended, were these * ; that in case of a rupture with the Nabob, we should give them the earliest notice, which they were to wait ; and, in the mean time, they were to content themselves with defending the Company's interests and property against all invaders. This surely was sufficient,

* See page 162, of this Vol.

ficient, for what danger could we apprehend to so strong a detachment as theirs, from any number of the Nabob's forces. They themselves always called them an undisciplined * rabble, and gave an † instance of 4000 repulsed by 50 of our seepoys, who made good their retreat from Gyah to Patna, upwards of eighty miles. Money we supplied them with so plentifully, that when they quitted the factory, they carried off sixty thousand rupees in cash, which fell afterwards into the Nabob's hands.

THEY are offended, that it was not left to them to declare a rupture when they thought proper, "because they had
" certain intelligence (not from hircarras)
" that the Nabob was determined, up-
" on the first notice of the march of any
" troops from Calcutta, to proceed with
" all his force to attack the detachment
" of our troops at Patna."

IN answer to which, I say first, that I believe the determination of peace and war, was never known to be left in the
hands

* See page 164, of this Vol. † See page 88, *ibid*.

hands of any inferior power ; and, secondly, that if the power of declaring a rupture with the Nabob, had been left to the Chief and Council at Patna, it was to be apprehended, that partly thro' false intelligence, and partly thro' their particular indisposition towards the Nabob, they would be induced to declare against him, without real or sufficient reason, and contrary to the intentions of the Board. Indeed, I must add, that it was my own firm persuasion, that they only sought such a power for a sanction, to the immediate execution of their own designs.

FOR proof that their intelligence was sometimes fallible, I refer to that very article, which they call "*certain*," of the Nabob's intention to march to Patna, upon the first notice of any of our troops setting out from Calcutta. It was plain from the Nabob's letter already inserted *, that he had received such accounts of our troops setting out from Calcutta, as he believed to be true ; and yet he shewed

* See page 143, of this Vol.

shewed not the least sign of marching towards Patna. In like manner, in the Patna letter, of the 15th of March, we were advised of the Nabob's being encamped at Poonarek, and that he designed to march back to Patna, to attack our troops ; but we heard for certain the next day, that he had proceeded quietly to Mongheer. Many more instances, were it necessary, might be produced from the Patna letters, of mistaken intelligence. For proof of their particular indisposition towards the Nabob, and their endeavors to aggravate every accidental circumstance into a crime against him, I might refer to numberless passages in their letters; but I believe those which have already occurred, in the course of this narrative, will be sufficient, nor need the support of further quotations.

WHILST Mess. Amyatt and Hay were at Cossimbuzar, they advised us, that the Seets * had been seized and carried away to the Nabob. This being judged a consequence of the Nabob's suspicions; that

* Juggutfeet and his brother, two famous bankers.

that they were concerned in some ill designs with us, and a breach of the promise which he made to me, upon his first accession to the subahship ; a severe remonstrance was sent to him against this proceeding, with a demand for their release.

THE Nabob in answer, wrote as follows.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated May 2, 1763.

“ I HAVE received with pleasure your
 “ friendly letter ; you write, that
 “ in the same manner as the writers of
 “ news, and incendiary reports, had
 “ falsely informed me, forces were dis-
 “ patched by land and water, and thro’
 “ the woods and mountains, they must
 “ have wrote upon the affair of the Seets,
 “ that the English forces had been dis-
 “ patched thro’ their instigations, and
 “ that those gentlemen were associated
 “ with the English, for which cause
 “ they must have fallen under my dis-
 “ pleasure ;

“ pleasure; you write also, that you
“ understand, from Mr. Amyatt’s let-
“ ters, that Mahomed Tucky Cawn hav-
“ ing taken the same gentlemen from
“ their house, had placed them in Hee-
“ rajeel. The news of this procedure
“ had greatly amazed you, because, at the
“ time that I sat in the musnud of the
“ Nizamut, I, yourself, and the Seets
“ were joined; and, it was agreed, that
“ these being the principal men of the
“ country, it was proper to carry on
“ the management of affairs through
“ their means. And also at the time
“ you came to Mongheer, you said all
“ that was to be said concerning them,
“ and now to carry them away with
“ such indignities, is unbecoming; that
“ this procedure is a diminution of my
“ character, and breach of faith, between
“ you and myself; and will give a pub-
“ lic reproach to your good name and
“ my own. That such a disgrace was
“ never offered to them, in the govern-
“ ment of any former Nazim. That
“ their business is only commerce, nor
“ have

“ have they ever assumed any concern
 “ in the affairs of the government ; and
 “ you desire, that I will write to Meer
 “ Syed Mahomed Cawn Bahader to re-
 “ lease them, that they may return to
 “ their own house.” Sir, your forces
 have not marched to Luckypoor, neither
 have they entered Dacca, nor have they
 gone to Rangamettee or Rungpoor ; and
 where have they not committed violences ?
 and what place, or what districts, are
 free from them ? And what day passes,
 that the dependents and companies of
 the English at Gherettee and Calcutta,
 do not raise reports of war and tumults,
 and troops, marching from every quar-
 ter to Mongheer and Patna, that you
 write that the hircarras, and writers of
 news, write falsehoods ? The hircarras
 of necessity write what they hear.

AND in the affair of the Seets, no per-
 son has to this time ever wrote any thing,
 nor spoken to me concerning them.

Now that you write to me, with all
 these specious pretences, it is as manifest
 as the sun, that under the government
 of

of every Nazim of Bengal till now, Omichund (for instance) and every other dependent of the English, and these gentlemen too attended on the Nazim, and assisted on the affairs of the fir-car, at the same time that they carried on their mercantile concerns. God be praised, that you yourself write that I said, "these gentlemen are of consequence, it is proper to carry on my affairs with their intervention." For these three years that I have borne this burthen, and have repeatedly wrote to these gentlemen, to carry on their own business, and assist in the affairs of the Nizamut, they paid not the least regard to my summons, and have put a stop to all their mercantile business, and have done all they could, to throw the affairs of the Nizamut into confusion, and treated me as an enemy, and out-law, and refused to come. Now that I have sent my people, and brought them hither, it was not because they were intriguing with the English, &c. but for

the management of such of my affairs, as indispensably required it. Since the beginning, this was agreed upon between us, that these gentlemen, &c. should always attend upon the Nazim, and carry on both the business of the Nizamut, and their own. As to your writing to me in this manner, and knitting your brows without reason, and treating the covenants and treaties which are between us, like children's play, breaking entirely through them, as if you had not any kind of regard to them; what other construction can I devise for this? Whilst your people drag and carry away my aumils, and keep them in confinement; in this unjustifiable insolence of your people, which is over-setting the treaty between us, there is no diminution of character, no breach of faith, nor cause of reproach between us, neither is any violation of the treaty in this. But when I summon a man, who is my own dependent, the treaty is broke, and my administration becomes weak, and my name suffers in the sight of every one, but particularly

ticularly in yours. O gracious God! this is a matter of astonishment, which my understanding cannot reach. In a word, that these gentlemen, from the first day, swore and agreed, that “where-
“ ever my life was, their life was, and
“ wherever my business was, their business
“ was.” God be praised, that this is a fact known to all the world. Now I have brought them to this place, that they may always be with me, and attend to my business and their own, according to custom. I know not, whether what you write in behalf of these gentlemen, be by way of intercession for them, or whether their names are included in our former treaty, which you have recourse to, when you charge me with breach of faith, and violation of former agreements, and reproach me with weakness, and a bad name. God be praised, that I have sent for them with no other design than for the currency of business, and for their continuance in one place: neither, as in the case of Coja Wajeed, have I seized any person unjustly, nor charged my conscience with the

unjust death of any man. If you are resolved to put misconstructions on every proper and lawful action of mine, I am utterly without remedy; but if you regard equity, this matter is not of such consequence, as to give occasion for so much contention and reproach.

In the Nabob's Hand-writing.

SIR, Though it is agreed by the treaty between us, that I should never say any thing in behalf of the servants and dependents of the Company, nor you, gentlemen, interfere in behalf of the servants and dependents of the Nizamut; yet you, gentlemen, have regarded all this as utterly obliterated, and in contradiction thereto, persist in the violation of the treaty, and desire to raise your name, and establish your own customs. I am remediless."

THE Nabob had never expressed himself with so much acrimony, nor betrayed the vehemence of his resentment so strongly

strongly as in this letter, which seems to have been dictated from a sense of the deepest injuries. It must be confessed, the provocation was sufficient to draw such a recrimination from the Nabob, upon the little account which we made of seizing and imprisoning his officers, whilst we were so ready to reproach him for doing the same to his own dependents. But what contributed at this time to make him the less relish our remonstrance, was the news which he had just received of the seizure of Mahomed Allee, which, in consequence of our orders* to the chief and council at Dacca, they had effected happily without opposition, and immediately sent him prisoner to Calcutta; this treatment (however merited) of an officer of such consequence, affected the Nabob more than all that had passed, nor could he mention it with temper in any of his letters after this period.

ON the 30th of May, we received the following letter from Mess. Amyatt and

P 3

Hay,

* Page 139, of this Vol.

Hay, containing an account of their first interview with the Nabob.

*Copy of a Letter from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, to the Governor and Council.
Dated May 18, 1763.*

“ **W**E waited on the Nabob the 15th, to acquaint him of your resolution. In conversing on the different articles, we found it impossible to discourse separately upon them; and he desired us to write down what we had to say to him. We delivered to him a Persian translate we had made of our instructions. The same being read, he desired we would leave it with him, as also the Firmauns, &c. which we acquiesced to. The next evening he sent his moonshee Hafiz, Issrar Cawn, to us, to desire we would sign that Persian translate, or draw out a list of such demands as we were commissioned to get complied with; which we accordingly did, and sent it to him signed and sealed, a copy of which is here inclosed. We again waited on him this morning, to desire his answer,

if

if he would comply with these articles, and give us the satisfaction required. He replied, it would take up some time to consider on them, and desired two days to give his answer. We had a good deal of conversation with him on different subjects, in which it appeared he had considered himself as in a state of war with us for some time past, and had issued orders, and made preparations accordingly, which has been the cause of some of the interruptions and insults our people have met with lately; and most of the others, he said, had been occasioned by Mr. Vansittart's letter, which he hitherto looked on as a treaty, the Governor had been authorized to enter into with him, which caused him to send these orders over the country to his aumils, the executing of which, we now so much complain of. We remarked to him, many of those interruptions we had laboured under, before that letter. As far as we can judge from our last conversation, he seems somewhat convinced that our intentions are not hostile,

as long as he does not attempt to infringe our rights (of which we have used our best endeavors to persuade him) and gives us satisfaction for the losses sustained by insults offered to the English by his officers in different parts of the country. This we are in hopes he will comply with, though he makes great use of the argument, of his having acted by Mr. Vansittart's agreement. We cannot write you, at present, with certainty of his intentions, but hope to be more so in our next. We shall again wait on him, for a further conversation on the many articles he is to comply with, before the time appointed by him for giving his answer, to endeavour further to convince him of the reasonableness of them; when we shall mention to him the moving* our troops to Patna, which hitherto we have declined on account of his suspicions."

THIS letter afforded some hopes, that the Nabob would submit to the demands,
and

* This was in consequence of a resolution of the Board, to relieve the Patna troops every year, by sending a fresh detachment from Calcutta.

and thus our disputes be ended; but it appeared from his letters afterwards, that his disposition for peace, was little assisted by his conversation with Mess. Amyatt and Hay, who, instead of allowing room for negotiation, or shewing an equal willingness to hear and redress his grievances, persisted only in requiring a determinate answer to their own demands, which might as well have been insisted on by letter from Calcutta, without putting them to the risk or trouble of so long a journey. The Nabob complained much of this proceeding, and by some passages in his letters, appears to have been as little pleased with the haughty style in which they addressed him; whilst they, in their turn, retorted the same complaint upon him. But what were the Nabob's real intentions at this time, whether to submit to necessity, and sign to the articles, or by rejecting them, refer our differences to the chance of war, it is hard to judge. It is certain, he was provided as well as he could be, against the worst; though it is
my

my own belief, that his intention was never to begin the war, but to avoid it, till he should be forced to defend himself. That such was his disposition, I judged both from his letters and conduct: his letters, though filled with the most bitter remonstrances of the violences committed against him, shewed always a fear of coming to extremities, and a desire to treat; while ours, which he was answering, contained the most absolute commands, enforced with a denunciation of war, if he refused to submit to them. And as to his conduct, if he had resolved upon war, he would surely not have neglected the many ways he might have taken to distress us: he would have attacked the detachments sent out from Patna, and endeavoured to cut them off from the body, instead of making ineffectual complaints to us; above all things, he would have been prepared, on the first commencement of hostilities, to ravage the Burdwan province, from whence he knew we received our chief supplies of money; in short, he would have stopped

ped the currency of the Company's business in all parts, which he never once attempted, till the city of Patna was attacked and taken by our troops.

WHILST our affairs were in this critical suspense, a very unlucky circumstance happened, which gave a turn to the scale, and introduced a fresh subject of dispute. Some boats laden with arms for our troops at Patna, which had been dispatched about two months before, passing by Mongheer, were stopped there by the guards. Mess. Amyatt and Hay demanded their release; but the Nabob looking upon this as a fresh proof of our design to break with him, and naturally concluding that these arms were to be employed against himself, refused to part with them, unless our forces were removed from Patna, declaring, that whilst they continued there, employed as they had always been, to intimidate the officers of the government, and screen the violences and oppressions of Mr. Ellis, he could put no confidence in our professions. At the same time, as a proof
that

that his view in the demand was only to prevent the ill use which he knew Mr. Ellis would make of those forces, he offered, as an alternative, that they should continue there, provided that Mr. Ellis was recalled, and either Mr. Amyatt, Mr. M'Gwire, or Mr. Hastings, appointed chief in his room, otherwise he insisted that the detachment should be ordered down to Mongheer for his service, according to the terms of our original treaty. In short, he pretended, that the only object he aimed at, was to obviate the mischievous designs of Mr. Ellis, by depriving him of the means of effecting them ; and declared, that this only could preserve the peace between us; for that he was certainly informed, Mr. Ellis was resolved to attack the city of Patna. The first advice that we received of this affair, was in a letter from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, of the 26th of May, which inclosed, at the same time, the Nabob's reply to the demands of the Board, and was confirmed by their letters of the 29th and 31st of the same month.

These

These letters, with translations of the demands presented to the Nabob, and his reply annexed, I shall here insert.

*Extract of a Letter from Mess^{rs}. Amyatt and Hay to the Governor and Council.
Dated May 26, 1763.*

“ **W**E have not seen the Nabob these four days, he being indisposed, which caused us to importune him by letters, for an answer to the several demands, you ordered us to insist on his complying with. This morning he sent it by Nobit Roy, which we now inclose you; we had before flattered ourselves he intended giving us a favorable one, though he all along continued to insist on our people being the aggressors, and complained of our seizing his aumils, when he was always ready to redress our grievances, without entering into just argument, but confining it to occurrences lately happened, since his order issued in consequence of Mr. Vansittart's letter; but he seemed to agree, by his conversation, that the method we now wanted
our

our business to go on in, properly observed, was just, and to appearance he was free from apprehensions of our wanting to quarrel with him; but we now must conjecture, this behavior was only to delay time for some purpose or other.

THE boats, with the arms for Patna, arrived here yesterday, and were stopped by the Nabob's chokey. We immediately applied for their release by letter, and gave them a dustuck, mentioning they contained arms, which they have kept, and the boats still continue detained. The Nabob promised an answer by Nobit Roy this morning, who said they were detained for having arms in them.

THE letter written him to day we have sent, hoping it will have some effect on his mind, reflecting that our going away must necessarily bring on a rupture; to prevent which, it may make him hearken to reason, and he may still be brought to comply with the articles required; therefore, if he desires us to
 stay,

stay, and releases the boats, we shall continue here till such time as we receive your orders how we are to act in case of his non-compliance with any, or every article; but if he still continues the hostile action of detaining the arms, we shall move from hence either towards Bengal or Patna, as most convenient, if we have reason to suspect his wanting to stop us."

*Copy of the Demands presented by Mess.
Amyatt and Hay to the Nabob.*

"**WE** have already pointed out to your Excellency, the grounds of our right to a free trade throughout the provinces, and the independency of our people upon the country government, founded upon the royal Firmaun, &c. Attested copies of which we have laid before your Excellency, as well as the hearty resolutions of the Board, to support you in your government with all its advantages, as long as you do not attempt to infringe the privileges of the English. We now proceed, agreeable to your desire, to draw out a writing of the demand,

mands we are commissioned to make from the whole Board, and under their hands and seals.

FIRST, That your Excellency do annul the treaty you made with Mr. Vansittart, and recal the several attested copies of it, which were circulated, together with your perwannah, in consequence thereof, to the several aumils of your government, informing them of its being void.

SECONDLY, That reparation be made for the losses sustained by the English, both before the said treaty was made and after it, by the stoppage of their business, and the oppressions of your several officers.

✓ THIRDLY, That the sunnuds granted by your Excellency, for the exemption of all duties, for the space of two years, be immediately annulled, and all duties collected as before, as it in a great measure deprives the English of the advantages which the tenor of the Royal Firmaun has ever entitled them to, above other merchants, and is entirely repugnant to their interest, and prejudicial to the

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the good harmony which ought to subsist between your Excellency and the English.

FOURTHLY, That disputes between the English and the dependents of your government be adjusted in the following manner, viz.

AT all those aurungs which are adjacent to, or under the management of the subordinate factories, the gomastah, in case of being injured by any of the officers, of the government or their dependents, shall first make application for redress, in writing to the officer of the government, residing on the spot; from whom, if he does not receive immediate satisfaction, he shall send his complaint to the chief of the nearest factory, who shall be empowered to take cognizance of the same, and demand and exact (if necessary) the satisfaction which the case may require. But that it is to be understood in respect of weavers, pykars, and all others, who receive advances of money for goods to be provided, or are indebted for goods bought, the gomastahs shall

retain their power as usual, to call such debtors to account. On the other hand, where the government's people shall have reason to complain against an English gomastah or agent, they shall give the said agent or gomastah notice of the complaint in writing ; requiring and recommending to him to settle it in an amicable and equitable manner ; and in case the agent or gomastah refuses, or neglects to settle it in such manner, as shall appear reasonable to the government's officer, he shall then transmit an account of it to the chief of the nearest English factory, and deliver a copy of the said account to the gomastah ; and the chief of the factory is hereby required to examine strictly into the affair, and decide it according to justice, giving a copy of his determination to the officer of the government who made the complaint. That the gentlemen of the subordinates shall keep a register of such complaints, with the decisions passed on them, a copy whereof shall be forwarded monthly to the Presidency. With respect

respect to the distant places where trade is carried on, such as Rungpoor, Poorneea, Gwalparah, and Rangamettee, there is at present no resident on the part of the Company ; but the situation of the former being such, as will make it convenient for examining the complaints, and deciding the disputes, which may happen in most of those places, we have accordingly appointed a gentleman to reside there for that purpose.

FIFTHLY, That a gentleman, on the part of the English, do always reside at your Durbar, by whom all transactions between your Excellency and the English, will be carried on in future ; and that he be acquainted with, and approve all orders, which are to be issued thro' the country relative to the English.

SIXTHLY, That jagheeree sunnuds be granted the Company for their lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong.

SEVENTHLY, That you do issue peremptory orders to the shroffs and others, for effecting the currency of the rupees, coined in our mint, and for our coining

three lacks of rupees annually, in each of the mints of Dacca and Patna.

EIGHTHLY, That the money disbursed by Mahomed Reza Cawn in the expedition of Tippera, out of the revenues of Chittagong, after that province was made over to the Company, be reimbursed.

NINTHLY, A public and exemplary punishment is required to be inflicted on Lawl Shaw, the commander of the troops from Tekarree, belonging to your Excellency, who attacked a subahdar, and fifty seepoys belonging to the English, declaring, that he had the Nabob's orders to cut every English seepoy to pieces wherever he should be found ; and that the said punishment be inflicted before our departure from hence.

TENTHLY, That the Seets be released, and permitted to go where they please unmolested.

ELEVENTHLY, That your Excellency do give us an explicit answer to the above demands, and with all convenient expedition issue your orders agreeable thereto, so that the English business may be

be freed from the interruptions which it now labors under."

Copy of the Nabob's Reply to Mess. Amyatt and Hay's Demands.

"**A**S I have nothing to do with customs or duties on any kind of goods from any merchant whatever, and have wholly exempted them for two years to come, ye may engage in whatever trade ye please, nor will any one meddle or interfere therein. After the time of exemption is expired, every officer will again interfere for duties, then ye will prove your rights from grants, &c. and I will answer you.

FIRST, The Governor's agreement was never regarded by me, and an order is now going to my officers, that the copies of the writing he gave me, where-soever they appear, are null and void.

SECONDLY, What does it matter? the loss that has arisen in the revenues, due to my Nizamut, on account of you gentlemen, settle with me for that, and I am ready to settle the loss that it can be

proved the Company have suffered in their business thro' my officers.

THIRDLY, The profit and advantage that has ever used to accrue to the Company, for my own part, I covet none of it. The distinction of the Company is what it has been ; but do you examine my papers, and see, that in the chucla of Hoogly, Dacca and Patna, &c. thirty or forty lacks of rupees is the annual amount of the taxation arising from those lesser receipts of custom.

FOR these two or three years past, what have I received ? Nay, have I not paid the expence of these three districts, and other offices, out of my own pocket ? Besides all this, your folks have proceeded against my officers, with the utmost indignity, and carried them away into confinement.

ALTHO' I have again and again wrote to you on this head, and advised you thereof, it availed not at all, nor did you concern yourselves about it. As I perceived there was no redress for me ; and, on the contrary, I suffered the greatest
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indignities and insults from your hands, for the sake of recovering your friendship; having no other remedy, I preferred my own loss, and have taken off all customs whatever.

FOURTHLY, Whenever the chiefs and gomastahs of your factories interrupt not my people, and the dependents on the government, my officers also will not interfere with the weavers, pykars, and others, usually dependent on your factories. And when we shall agree on both sides, to act in this manner, for what will my officers causelessly commit injuries against you? You write, that the chiefs of your factories will settle disputes. You have never brought an officer of this government before a chief of a factory, for settling any matter in my administration until now; at present, if contrary to custom, you are purposed to overthrow my influence and authority in the countries of Bengal, &c. it is a means of destroying our friendship. There never has been a factory of yours at Rungpoor, and the power too which ye have given

to the chief, ye would have raised there, of hearing and determining all causes in the country round about, is altogether foreign to any agreement or grant you have. If ye are resolved to act contrary to all agreement, how will my authority and influence be kept there? And my officers being there, is altogether needless.

WHEREFORE those places, whither you are to send chiefs, and to direct the administration of all causes, and the magistrature in such a manner, you ought, first, to advise me of, for the removal of my officers, that I may call them thence, and deliver the business of the place into your hands; because, from there being two rulers in the same district, the country and inhabitants are ruined and oppressed.

FIFTHLY, Whenever we have agreed together, to our mutual satisfaction, there will be no necessity for your deputy remaining at my court, as a single letter, for these two or three years past, has sufficed for every thing that has happened.

SIXTHLY, IN the treaty between us, as it shall have been mentioned, either for
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the expence of the Company's troops, or as a jagheer, I will perform accordingly.

SEVENTHLY, The revenues arising from all the provinces are received in Sunwaut rupees. The payment of my troops is also in the same species, as well as all other charges of the Nizamut great or small; and I have never molested any one for the revenues in Sicca rupees, coined either at Moorshedabad, Patna or Calcutta. Moreover, the shroffs and merchants are no one's servants, but for the sake of a small profit, deal one with the other. Let every man of his own fancy buy and sell whatever he pleases, I shall interrupt no one.

EIGHTHLY, All the money that Mahomed Reza Cawn had collected from Chittagong, since it has been made over to the Company, is paid into their cash, as I have your receipt for it.

✓ NINTHLY, In the districts, dependent on the Nizamut, be pleased to see an account of the very many of my people plundered and massacred by your folks. When ye shall have given satisfaction for
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the whole, and punished your folks accordingly, I will immediately send for Lawl Shaw, wheresoever he may be found, altho' he is no servant of mine, and have him properly punished before you two gentlemen.

TENTHLY, It has ever been a custom for the Seets to attend upon the Nazim. At this time, on account of the insinuations of evil speakers, they were become mistrustful of me, and afraid to come near me, therefore I sent for them hither. Wheresoever I am to be, there also will these gentlemen be, according to custom, and have their business carried on.

ELEVENTHLY, The Company's adherence to their promise was evident to all men. I also thought you do what you say, and do not go back from your word. At present it seems, as tho' you keep neither promise nor treaty for a single year, nay, a month or a day. Now that you have written and brought me these demands, what article of them rests upon me, that you require a public writing of me? I have not, by any means,
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broken my word ; ye receded from your promise, and fain would again make a new treaty and agreement. It is necessary too, that what will make me easy be considered in the treaty. If you allow me the management of the Nizamut, leave in Patna, and other places, the people necessary for conducting the business of your factory, as you formerly used to do, and remove all English troops and seepoys wherever stationed. I shall never be backward in promoting and assisting the business that properly concerns you."

Extract of a Letter from Mess. Amyatt and Hay to the Board. Dated May 29, 1763.

"**N**OTWITHSTANDING our repeated remonstrances to his Excellency, setting forth the hostility of the action, he has not yet released the boats with the arms ; neither doth he shew the least confidence in what we say, and declares (at the same time hinting to us the former revolution) he shall not place
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any in us, till we remove the detachment from Patna to Mongheer.

WE beg leave to offer it as our opinion, that the having the troops intended to be quartered in this province, stationed here, would be very adviseable, but cannot be thought of, till such time as he complies with our demands, as it is probably made by caprice, or with design."

Copy of a Letter from Mess. Amyatt and Hay to the Board. Dated May 31, 1763.

"**T**HE inclosed is a duplicate of our last, dated the 29th instant, on which day we sent you a cypher made out here, which, we imagined, might be useful in carrying on a correspondence in case of a rupture: a copy of the same was likewise forwarded to Mr. Ellis at Patna.

WHATEVER we urge to his Excellency, in regard to the release of the boats with arms, or the necessity of his placing a proper confidence in us, his general reply is, that we have seized his aumils,

aumils, that the words of the English are not to be trusted, and that he will not release the boats till such time as we remove our troops from Patna, either to this place or to Calcutta. Altho' he will take no step towards a reconciliation, or to give us satisfaction, yet he, upon all occasions, mentions his desire of peace; in short, his aim seems to be entirely to gain time."

ABOUT the same time, the following letters were received from the Nabob.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated May 25, 1763.

"**A**T this time Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay being arrived here, have delivered a list, containing several demands, which are unreasonable and foreign from former treaties and grants. I expected not, whilst you yet remained, that I should be involved in this trouble, and so unjust a negotiation; that in one year, new agreements were to be made so often, after the breach of the antient treaty; that upon every occasion made
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use of to intimidate me, I should be threatened with a breach of the treaty, and vexed, and mortified without cause, and my affairs obstructed. At this time, from the arzees of Meer Mehdee Cawn Behader, I am repeatedly informed, that the troops under Mr. Ellis's charge, create continual disturbances and quarrels with my people, and daily leave a fresh root of dissention.

✓ FROM these appearances, all the tenants, and the troops which are at Patna, are ever in alarms, and taking means for their security. This has given, and still gives occasion to the people to believe, that there is no longer a friendship and union between us. It affords me a subject of continual anxiety and apprehension, lest (which God forbid) these things should produce a difference between us, and you unjustly reproach me. To this purpose, I have spoken to Mr. Amyatt likewise; but the gentlemen do not hear me nor regard what I say. This day I have received an arzee from Meer Mehdee Cawn, of which I
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send you a copy for your perusal. If you, gentlemen, intend the English army for my defence, it is proper that you call it from Patna to Calcutta, that it may be called upon in time of need, or else keep it with me at Mongheer, which will put an end to disputes, and restore the currency of affairs between us, and shut up the mouths of the people from so many rumours. But if it is not your design to remove the troops from Patna, and you seek only to disturb my affairs, and to awe and intimidate me, let me know it, that when I have learnt your pleasure, I may clear my hands from every business, and all this vexation. To this purpose, I have expressed myself also to Mr. Amyatt, both by speech and writing."

Copy of a Letter from Meer Mehdee Cawn (Naib of Patna) to the Nabob.

"I HAVE frequently and repeatedly advised your Excellency, that Mr. Ellis, and the troops which are with him, creating troubles and disputes with the people of
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of the fircar, seek for a rupture; and the tenants and inhabitants of the city, and seepoys of this place, seeing this state of things, are fallen into apprehensions and alarms, and are providing for their own security. The people judging from hence, that there is no longer a friendship and good understanding between us, raise many reports of different kinds; and the zemindars, taking the occasion of their not being called upon, withhold their rents, so that the revenue is entirely obstructed. I cannot describe to you, how much the affairs of the Nizamut are fallen into confusion. In whatever light you regard these affairs, you will graciously be pleased to issue your orders for the quieting of these disorders and troubles; otherwise the whole business of the government is destroyed, and these mutual animosities, which tend to ruin the interests of both parties, raise suspicions in the minds of the people."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated May 26, 1763. 7

“ **W**HEN Mess. Amyatt and Hay came to this place to treat, with a list of demands, I expected that those gentlemen would inform themselves of every particular, and put an end to all affairs and matters of contention between us. Accordingly, I sent the aumils with Rajah Nobit Roy, and Hafiz Issrar Cawn, that having heard the particulars of the oppressions of the English gomastahs, they might use such means as might settle every affair. Those gentlemen at once plainly answered, that they wanted not to hear what I had to represent; and in the affair of the forces at Patna likewise, they replied, “ For what shall we recal the forces “ from thence? Nay, we will send o- “ ther forces. If you have any design “ to quarrel with us, we are ready.” A- gain, Mr. Amyatt and yourself formerly wrote to me, that you had never sent any muskets or military stores to Patna; but the day before yesterday, six boats laden

with muskets, &c. arrived here from Calcutta.

SIR, openly to deny sending any military stores, and secretly to send them in this manner, what can it mean? I have no objection to two or three hundred Englishmen remaining at Patna, but to keep up such a force with Mr. Ellis, to ruin my affairs, is very improper; and that gentleman every day keeps his forces in readiness, and creates troubles and quarrels with my people. Therefore I write, that I will not suffer a larger force than two or three hundred men to remain with Mr. Ellis. If you, gentlemen, regard your words and engagements, and the condition on which you received Burdwan, &c. from me, for the expences of your army, it is fit, that in conformity thereto, you recall the said forces, and place them with me, or remove them to Calcutta. If not, write me a plain answer.

P. S. I am yet ready to comply with your word; but things are brought to the last extremity; and however desirous I am of avoiding the worst, yet I see no means

means of it, and my patience is near exhausted. Wherefore, I write this before-hand for your information. I send you inclosed a copy of the answer, which I wrote to the list of demands, presented to me by Mess. Amyatt and Hay."

THESE letters being laid before the Board, a general Council was held upon them on the 9th of June, in which it was resolved, that the troops should not be removed from Patna ; and that if the Nabob persisted to demand it, or to detain the boats, Mess. Amyatt and Hay should be directed to leave Mongheer. At the same time, the gentlemen of Patna were advised of these resolutions, and ordered to act as they might be directed by Mess. Amyatt and Hay. For the motive of these resolutions, I refer to the following extract of the debates which produced them.

Extract of Consultation of June 9. (Present Mess. Batson, Adams, Billers, Cartier, Hastings, Marriott and Watts) the President indisposed.

“ **T**HE Governor sends to the Board the following letter, which he has just received from Mr. Amyatt.

SIR, His Excellency has received a kellaat from the King, which the day before yesterday he put on in form, and last night he made an entertainment for us on the occasion.

THE arms still continue stopped ; they lay in boats on the opposite side of the river, surrounded by his seepoys. He still insists on our forces being withdrawn from Patna and other places, to convince him and all the country, of our peaceful intentions, and then he is ready to issue any perwannahs we please, for the forwarding our business. He does not rightly declare, which of the articles he will comply with, but I perceive he will not give sunnuds for the lands, nor consent to a resident being with him, nor establish the other mints, but will endeavor

deavor to take some measure to prevent our being sufferers by our rupees.

He will not agree to our punishing his servants, nor do I think we ought to insist upon it, but alter that article to be punished by him, after our chief has heard and represented the case, and for us to chastise them, if he delays or neglects to do it. The Seets, I am persuaded, he will keep here, nor suffer them to be of much consequence in future; likely he will not use them ill, nor take their money at present. He denies the agreement with you, tho' he says, if he did, it is not any where in writing. He requires satisfaction from us, for any immediate damage done him by our people, when he is ready to make good ours, that may be proved against any of his aumils and chokeys, excepting Mahomed Allee, whom you have in your hands to do with as you please; he objects to our any where working or cultivating his lands, or purchasing any thing for them at first-hand, it deprives him of his duties and advantages therefrom. In short,

he objects to every thing ; and says, it's our own private interest we want to benefit, the Company's being no where molested, nor does he want to molest it. We told him he must grant a free trade, which was our right ; and if in any particular he was much aggrieved, or suffered thereby, to represent it to the Council, and they would restrain themselves and others to serve him ; but no restraints from his people would be admitted of, as under that pretence they would hurt and injure the trade. I have done my utmost endeavors to persuade him to a thorough confidence, but I believe it is all in vain. I have also represented to him his danger, to as little purpose ; he seems very indifferent at present, and no ways anxious. He swears he does not want to quarrel with us, and will do every thing ; at the same time, he, in a manner, refuses every thing. Thus matters stand in the same situation as at the first day. I believe he does not stop or impede the business, but will not permit arms or men to go to Patna ;

Patna; for which reason, we have never mentioned our troops moving for that place. A perwannah is gone to clear the petre. He said, he thought the produce of that place did not belong to us.

I am, &c.

Signed P. Amyatt."

THE President, at the same time, transmits to the Board his opinion of the measures proper to be taken, in the present situation of affairs with the Nabob.

The Governor's Opinion.

IF the Nabob detains the arms, it can be looked upon in no other light, than as an open act of hostility, and I think Mess. Amyatt and Hay should be directed to make such a final declaration to the Nabob; and if they are not then delivered up, to take their leave. But supposing the Nabob to make satisfaction for this ill advised step, it should be considered, whether his answers to the several articles, delivered him by Mr. Amyatt, are such as ought, when coolly and separately reflected on, to resolve us to engage the Company in a war with

the Nabob ; or if it is admitted, that every article is not of so much consequence, then it should be considered, which are, and which are not, and instructions sent Mr. Amyatt accordingly.

THE placing our troops with the Nabob, as he desires, would certainly be a means of establishing a confidence in each other, and of making that confidence appear to the world, and at the same time, answer all the purposes of preserving our influence, and securing the tranquility of the country.

YET, I am not for removing them upon the Nabob's demand; but if he will comply with the articles delivered him by Mr. Amyatt, or the material ones, I think this request might then be granted, and that Mr. Amyatt should be empowered to give him to understand as much.

LASTLY, if a rupture is unavoidable, the season should be considered, the state of the treasury, and the peace in Europe, by which the French will be repossessed of their factories. The troops from
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hence, could not at this time march by land to join the detachment at Patna, therefore it may be adviseable to defer publishing the resolutions of the Board, whatever they may be.

ALL these papers being read and considered,

THE members likewise delivered in their opinions as follows.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

THE Nabob's behavior, since Mess. Amyatt and Hay's arrival at Mongheer, leaves no room to expect he will ever enter into any terms with us; but, on the contrary, it appears from it, that he only waits for a proper opportunity to break with us; and by his several replies to the demands in Mess. Amyatt and Hay's letters, it is very evident he places no confidence in us; and as we have no reason to place any in him, I therefore think, that his demanding our troops at Patna to be recalled, ought not to be complied with. That as the rainy season is so near advanced, a letter should be wrote to Mess. Amyatt and Hay to take their leave
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of the Nabob, and return to Calcutta or Patna, as they think proper. That they may demand the release of the boats, but altho' complied with, not remain there any longer, but acquaint the Nabob, that if he has any propofals to make, he must fend them to the Prefident and Council, who will reply to them. That as soon as they think it will be out of the power of the Nabob to stop them, they shall write to Mr. Ellis, and the council at Patna, to follow the regulations laid down in case of a rupture.

THAT as the Nabob is raising forces every where, and it plainly appears he only wants to gain time, a letter should be wrote to Patna, to acquaint the gentlemen there, that we judge a rupture unavoidable ; and that, as there is reason to expect the Nabob will take every advantage, they have our orders, in case they have certain intelligence of his marching towards Patna, to take any steps that will distress him, and look upon him as an enemy.

THAT as he does suspect the Nabob
will

will attempt to detain Mess. Amyatt and Hay, he thinks they ought, in such case, to have the power of declaring the rupture; and that a note from them to the chief and council at Patna, should be sufficient for their acting, as if received from the Board.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

MR. MARRIOTT is of opinion, that a letter be immediately wrote to Mess. Amyatt and Hay, directing them, in case the Nabob has not released the boats, with arms to quit Mongheer, and either return to Calcutta, or go to Patna, as they may judge most eligible for ensuring their own safety; and that application to the Nabob on this occasion should be left to their discretion. That the troops at Patna should not be removed agreeable to his demand; as their remaining at that place will prevent the Rajahs, on the borders of the province, from taking any advantage of the present appearance of a rupture, happening between the Nabob and us, by making an invasion into his territories. That if the Nabob either
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does, or has released the arms, and will comply with the most material demands, some of the others might be given up, particularly those mentioned by Mr. Amyatt, in his letter to the President; first, that regarding the jagheeree funnuds, for the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong; as possession and the force we maintain in the country will always secure them to us; secondly, that regarding our punishing his officers. This article he thinks might be altered; that application should be first made to the Nabob, on the occasion of any complaints against them, and that we should only observe the method already laid down upon his refusing to give us satisfaction for the same; thirdly, the article concerning the mint.

THAT in case Mess. Amyatt and Hay should be obliged to leave the Nabob, orders should be sent to the gentlemen at Patna, to act agreeable to former instructions, unless they received some certain intelligence, that the Nabob was marching for Patna; in which case, they should

should be ordered to act on the offensive, and endeavor to seize the city by a coup de main. He further thinks, Mess. Amyatt and Hay should hear what the Nabob has to alledge concerning the losses of the fircar, by our agents or gomastahs.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

THO' I have, from the beginning, expressed my disapprobation of the measures taken in our late unhappy disputes with the Nabob, and which have given occasion to the temper, which he, at this time, shews towards us ; yet, after having gone such lengths, I cannot but think it very unbecoming, to submit quietly to so open an act of violence, as he has been guilty of in the stoppage of the boats of arms. It is therefore my opinion, that Mess. Amyatt and Hay be ordered to demand of the Nobob the immediate clearance of those boats, in the name of the President and Council ; and in case of his refusal, to inform him, that it will be deemed equal to a declaration of a rupture on his side ; and that they do accordingly take their leave of him,

him, and return to Calcutta ; but if he consents to release the boats, and expresses a willingness to yield to our demands, I think we cannot in justice to him, or consistently with the interest of the Company, refuse to comply with the demand he has made, that the detachment of our forces now at Patna, may be stationed with him. The alarms of the people cannot be so effectually appeased, as by the appearance of a confidence, such as this will occasion, between the Nabob and us. The Nabob will derive more benefit from our influence, whilst our troops are with him ; and it will be less in his power to form any ill designs against us, whilst we have such a check continually upon him.

I AGREE with the President, that in case of the Nabob's objecting to any of the demands, it should be determined by the Board, what should be insisted upon, and what may be dispensed with, and Mess. Amyatt and Hay instructed accordingly ; in which distinction, the Board will doubtless consider the real interest
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and honor of the Company, and not involve them in a war (which must at all events prove of great detriment to them) for ends indifferent or inadequate to the expence and risk which may accrue to them from it. I am likewise of opinion, that if Mess. Amyatt and Hay find the Nabob in a proper temper to yield to the proposals offered him, they may privately signify to him, that the Board will consent to the removal of the Patna detachment as he desires, provided he first complies with our demands.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

MR. CARTIER judges it adviseable, that Mr. Amyatt and Hay should be immediately recalled from Mongheer, as it appears to him, from the advices received from those gentlemen, that the Nabob has no other design by prevailing upon them to stay (after a flat refusal almost of every demand they were empowered to make, and the hostile act of detaining the arms sending to the Patna factory) than to gain time to answer some purpose, that may be very prejudicial to
our

our affairs. That it appears to him a very probable circumstance, the Nabob's principal view, is to engage us in a scene of negotiation, till such time as the season of the year will render any military operation nearly impracticable; which, when the case, he will have it in his power to bend his whole force to oppress our troops at Patna. That the party there should by no means be removed from that place, in compliance with the Nabob's request, at this present juncture. That if Mess. Amyatt and Hay are allowed to quit Mongheer, without concluding the business they were sent on, it is his opinion, the army (when those gentlemen are so far advanced on their way as to be out of danger) should be immediately ordered to march to Cossimbuzar, and take post there, which will be the means of preserving the health of the people; and by such a motion of the troops, the Nabob will be convinced, that something more is designed, than mere negotiation.

Mr.

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

MR. BILLERS is of opinion, that as the Nabob still persists in detaining the arms, it should be looked upon as an act of hostility. That Mess. Amyatt and Hay should therefore be immediately directed to leave Mongheer; and that our army should march to Cossimbuzar; for it at present seems, as if the Nabob only wanted to gain time, and endeavored to embarrass us as much as possible, by the rains coming on. He thinks the troops at Patna, ought by no means to be removed at this juncture; and that if Mess. Amyatt and Hay should quit Mongheer, the Patna gentlemen should be permitted to take such measures, as they may judge best for their own safety, and the Company's interest.

Major Adams's Opinion.

MAJOR ADAMS is of opinion, that the troops should by no means, for the present, be removed from Patna, but that it should be left to the pleasure of the Board, to dispose of them as they think proper, if matters can be amica-

bly accommodated. That any particular articles of the demands, which the Nabob mostly objects to, should be transmitted to the Board, with his reasons, that they may be reconsidered, and it be determined, whether they shall still be insisted on, or may not be moderated; but before any regard is paid to either of these points, he thinks orders should be sent to Mess. Amyatt and Hay, to demand the release of the arms; and, at the same time, acquaint the Nabob, that should it not be immediately complied with, they have orders to leave his court. That they will make this demand and intimation, if they think it consistent with their own safety; otherwise, retire to Patna, or take such other rout, as they may judge most eligible and conducive to their own security; and when they find themselves out of his power, to transmit him in writing the orders of the Board; and, lastly, that if Mess. Amyatt and Hay quit Mongheer, the gentlemen at Patna should be left to act as they judge most proper for their own security, and the Company's interest.

Mr.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

I AM of opinion, that we can by no means consent to withdraw our troops from Patna. That the Nabob's desire of having them with him at Mongheer is insincere; his real design being only to get them removed from Patna; that our withdrawing them will be a great step towards ruining entirely our influence and power in the country; and therefore I esteem it highly detrimental and dishonorable to the Company and nation.

I AM further of opinion, that the Nabob's evil disposition towards our nation, is evident beyond dispute; nay, that it is avowed by his insisting on our withdrawing our troops from Patna, and by the act of hostility he has already committed in seizing our arms. That it will be weakness to think of treating any longer with him, as he has refused several times to comply with our demands; and all his answers are filled with sneers, reproaches and calumnies. That therefore Mess. Amyatt and Hay should be directed to endeavor, by stratagem or otherwise, to get the arms released if possible,

possible, and to return to Calcutta as soon as they can, or to go to Patna, if they judge the former impracticable. That on their departure, they should advise the gentlemen at Patna, and direct them to act as they may judge best for the service.

Questions proposed.

THE several opinions being read ; to render the resolutions to be taken more clear, the following distinct questions were stated and put at the Board.

QUESTION I. Shall the Nabob's demand, of removing the detachment from Patna, be consented to, or not ?

ANSWER, The Board unanimously think it ought not.

QUEST. II. In case of the Nabob's compliance with our demands, shall the Patna detachment be removed and stationed at Mongheer, or not ?

ANSW. The majority, viz. Mess. Watts, Cartier, Billers and Batson think it ought not.

QUEST. III. Shall Mess. Amyatt and Hay be directed to leave Mongheer, immediately on the receipt of the letter

we now send them, or remain to treat further with the Nabob ?

ANSW. The majority, viz. Mess. Marriott, Hastings, Billers and major Adams, are of opinion, that if the arms are not released, they should come away ; if they are, that they should stay to treat further ; and that it should rest in their option to make a fresh demand of their release, or not. Mess. Watts, Cartier and Batson think, they ought to return immediately on the receipt of the orders now to be sent them.

QUES. IV. If the Nabob continues to insist on the removal of the troops, as a preliminary to his entering upon any treaty, altho' he release the arms, shall Mess. Amyatt and Hay remain to treat further with him, or not ?

ANSW. All the members except Mr. Hastings think, that they ought in such case immediately to leave Mongheer.

Mr. Hastings's Dissent.

MR. HASTINGS dissents, because he has given his opinion, that the troops might be removed from Patna ; and does

not think, that the Nabob's refusal to any one of the demands is sufficient to justify our breaking with him.

Resolution of the Majority.

AGREED, that Mess. Amyatt and Hay be wrote to in the following terms. That we cannot consent to the Nabob's demand of removing the troops from Patna; and therefore, if he persists in making that a preliminary, and refuses to treat on other terms, or to release the boats of arms, they are, in either case, immediately to leave Mongheer, and return to Calcutta, if they think it practicable; or otherwise take such other rout, as they may judge most eligible for their safety. That if they think it unsafe to notify these resolutions to the Nabob, and that it may induce him to detain them at Mongheer, we permit them to come away without mentioning our resolution any further to him.

THAT on their departure from Mongheer, they are to advise us and the gentlemen at Patna, directing them to be upon their guard, and to act in the manner

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ner they judge most proper for their own security, in case the Nabob marches or sends any troops to attack them.

AGREED, that we write likewise to Patna, and inclose them a copy of these orders to Mess^{rs}. Amyatt and Hay, and desire them to act as they may be directed by those gentlemen.

Mr. Hastings's Dissent.

I ENTER my dissent to the two last paragraphs of the letter, ordered to be wrote to Mess^{rs}. Amyatt and Hay, for the following reasons.

THO' I cannot believe, that Mess^{rs}. Amyatt and Hay desire such a permission, as is here given them to leave the Nabob, without informing him of the resolution of the Board, in case of his persisting to detain the arms, or to demand, as a preliminary, the removal of our troops from Patna; yet I think it very unbecoming in the Board, to grant them such permission. After having entered into a treaty with the Nabob, and flattered him with repeated assurances of our desire of an accommodation, abruptly to break it off,

and declare war against him (since one is made a consequence of the other) without letting him know the terms on which our friendship depends ; what is this, but to insnare the Nabob into a rupture which he might avoid, if he was certain, that his insisting on those points would be the cause of one ; and which, I am convinced, he would wish to avoid, by every concession that should be required of him, as the means of peace, since he has no force to oppose us, and it is well known he has no dependence, and can have none, but on our friendship.

I CANNOT, for my own part, see how Mess. Amyatt and Hay should run a greater risk now than hitherto, from a free declaration of the sentiments of the Board, to the Nabob ; nor can I see any reason to suspect him, of forming any treacherous designs against the persons of those gentlemen, as I know of no act of his, that can justify that opinion of him, and such an attempt if made, could answer no end.

THE order given to the chief and
council

council at Patna, to take such measures as they think proper for their security, in case of the Nabob's marching, or sending any forces to attack them, is authorising those gentlemen to commit open hostilities against the Nabob, on the first pretence offered them, by the march of a few men from Mongheer to Patna, or the false reports of their hircarras, who may tell them, that the Nabob, or his forces, are on the road to attack them. Till therefore they are openly attacked, or the Board have declared war against the Nabob, I object to any power put into their hands to commence a war themselves."

IT will be remarked, that I was not present myself at this consultation, having been for some days confined by sickness, and therefore knew not of the resolutions of the Board, till acquainted with them afterwards by the secretary, whom I desired to summon another meeting of the Council the next day; and detained the dispatches, that this matter might be

be reconsidered, as I judged the orders sent to Mess. Amyatt and Hay precipitate; and that they shut out all possibility of an accommodation, altho' the Nabob should be inclined to it. The Council being met, I sent in my opinion in a letter to the secretary; which being read at the Board, produced the alteration which I proposed in the orders to Mess. Amyatt and Hay.

THE following is an extract from the consultation of my letter to the secretary, and the resolutions taken in consequence of it.

Extract of Consultation of June 10. Present Mess. Billers, Adams, Cartier and Marriott.

“THE secretary lays before the Board the following letter, which he this morning received from the Governor.

SIR, As my late indisposition prevents my attending the Board, I must take this method of delivering my opinion upon the instructions, which should
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be sent to Mess. Amyatt and Hay, in answer to the last advices received from them.

If the Nabob persists in detaining the boats with arms, I think it must be deemed a declared act of hostility, and Mess. Amyatt and Hay directed, in such case, to take their leave. If the Nabob refuses to treat further with those gentlemen, without our removing the troops from Patna, by way of preliminary, I think, in that case likewise, they should take their leave, as I am not for consenting to make any change in the station of our troops upon such demand. But supposing the arms to be released, and that Mess. Amyatt and Hay find the Nabob in a disposition to treat, without insisting on the removal of our troops from Patna, as a preliminary; then, I think, those gentlemen should be furnished with instructions what further to say to the Nabob; and those instructions, I think, should be, with respect to the troops at Patna, to represent to the Nabob, that they were stationed there with a view of
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being in readiness to assist him, whenever his affairs might require it; and that they should be ready to act in conformity to that view, as soon as the present differences between us were accommodated. They should be further directed to call upon the Nabob, for his particular objections to the several articles or demands delivered him; and having transmitted the same to the Board, it should be considered which are material to be insisted on.

SOME answer should likewise be sent to Mess. Amyatt and Hay, regarding Mahomed Allee, and the other officers of the government, at present kept here prisoners. The Nabob says, as we have seized them, and have them in our hands, we may take our own satisfaction for the losses some have suffered in their private trade. We should either tell Mess. Amyatt and Hay, that we will do so, or else we should send those officers up to them, with instructions to deliver them to the Nabob, desiring him to oblige them to make good such losses; at the same time, receiving from the government's officers,

officers, the accounts of losses they say they have suffered by the violence of English agents and gomastahs; and this second method, I think, the most proper.

NEITHER the Company's, nor private trade, meet at present with any interruption. This is an essential reason, why we ought to avoid, if possible, engaging our employers in an expensive war, and involving the country in troubles, to their great loss, as well as that of the settlement in general.

THE low state of our treasury, and the peace in Europe, by which the French will be repossessed of their settlements in this country, are, in my opinion, other strong reasons, why we should, if possible, keep on good terms with the Nabob.

FINALLY, I think, that further instructions should be sent to the gentlemen at Patna, concerning their manner of acting, in case a rupture with the Nabob should be unavoidable; with reference, I mean, to the season, which would prevent the troops from hence marching by land to join those at Patna; and going
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up by boats, would take a long time. Upon this article, I submit myself to the judgment of major Adams.

THE same being read and considered.

Resolution of the Board.

AGREED, That we write in consequence, a further letter to Mess. Amyatt and Hay, acquainting them, that supposing the arms to be released, and they should find the Nabob inclinable still to treat, without insisting on the removal of the troops from Patna, as a preliminary, they may assure him that those troops have been always stationed there for the security of his government, and to maintain the tranquillity of the country; and that they shall still continue to act in conformity to this view. That they shall then call upon the Nabob for his particular objections to the several articles or demands delivered him, and transmit them to us, when we shall consider and determine, which of them are so material as to require being still insisted on, and which may be moderated; that if the Nabob should again make
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mention of Mahomed Allee, and the other prisoners here, we leave it to them to judge whether we had best prosecute the enquiry against them ourselves, or send them up to them, to have it finished in presence of the Nabob, and to give him their answers accordingly; that they may receive from the government's officers, the account of any losses they say they have sustained, by the violence of the English agents and gomastahs, upon their being properly authenticated; and again assure the Nabob, that for whatever appears to be just, he shall receive full satisfaction. On the further subject of the Governor's letter, the Board are of opinion, that their utmost endeavors have been already used to prevent the country's being involved in troubles, or their employers engaged in an expensive war: that they can now leave it only to time to satisfy them, whether these endeavors will prove effectual. That the circumstance of a peace in Europe, and the supposition drawn from thence, that the French will obtain their resettlements here,

here, is rather a strong reason, why we should employ the most spirited methods, to become immediately assured of the Nabob's intentions and disposition towards us, and not delay time in a fruitless negotiation. That with regard to the last paragraph of the Governor's letter, referred to the judgment of major Adams; the major, with the rest of the members, think it unnecessary to send further instructions to Patna, than those contained in the letter of yesterday to Mess. Amyatt and Hay, and whereof a copy was transmitted to that factory.

ON the 13th we received a letter from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, giving a very different account of the Nabob's disposition, from that contained in Mr. Amyatt's letter to me, received four days before. They advised now, that “ the
 “ arms still continued under seizure.
 “ That all conversation with the Nabob,
 “ upon business, was at a stand. That
 “ the Nabob, buoyed up with the no-
 “ tion of his own strength, shewed, by
 “ all

“ all his actions, that he was resolved
“ on a rupture, which they now looked
“ upon as unavoidable; and therefore,
“ wished us to remove them out of his
“ power as soon as possible.” In answer, we recommended to them, to temporize in any manner they could, to get themselves out of the Nabob’s hands, in case they still judged a rupture unavoidable, and that he designed to detain them. On the 17th, we received a letter from the same gentlemen, which confirmed their former sentiments; and the same day, the following letters were received from Mr. Ellis, which brought the prospect of war but nearer to our view, and left the Board nothing now to do, but approve of his measures, and wait the issue.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to the Governor and Council. Dated June 5, 1763.

“ **T**HE Nabob, whose brain it ever teeming with inventions, to distress, and render us subservient to his

tyranny, has now hit upon a method of doing it very effectually, by inveigling away our seepoys. His emissaries, employed on this service, promise to the private men double the pay we give, advancing them one month; and to the officers, a promotion in rank: and so well hath his scheme succeeded, that we have lost 200 men since the first instant; amongst whom are many officers, and the remainder old seepoys, perfectly versed in our discipline.

IT is now near four months, that we have been in a most perplexing state of suspense, just between the bounds of peace and war, with the government here; and during that time, have patiently borne the many insults daily offered us; insomuch, that our people begin to think, and with some appearance of reason, that we cannot do ourselves justice; which is another motive for their going over to the Nabob.

THIS, gentlemen, merits your most serious and immediate consideration; for I do assure you, if we remain much longer in
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in the situation we have been in for some time past, there will not be 500 old seepoys left in the two battalions here (which I can safely say, were inferior to none in the service) and the unhappy consequences that may attend our acting with a parcel of raw, undisciplined people, against those whom we have taught to be soldiers, are sufficiently obvious.

THE Nabob, in order to bring every force against us, which it is possible to collect, has made up matters with Comgar Cawn, and put him in possession of the country he before held. The seepoys, who were stationed there, to the number of about 1000, arrived here this day."

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to the Governor and Council. Dated June 6, 1763.

"OUR seepoys still continuing to desert in great numbers, I have judged it most expedient, and for the good of the service, to order the whole party to hold themselves in readiness to

march at a moment's warning, and have thereby entitled them to Batta.

THIS is the only means of putting a stop to the desertion; and if it has the desired effect, will be well worth the expence."

THE next day, we received two more letters from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, containing an account of an affront offered to some of the gentlemen of their company, by the Nabob's chokies; and mentioning, that the Nabob still insisted on the removal of our troops from Patna, and satisfaction for his grievances; that parties of horse were stationed all round them to prevent their escape; and 5000 men were detached to Bengal; with other circumstances, confirming their opinion that the Nabob would not treat.

IT appearing to the Board, that there was the strongest reason to apprehend our disputes with the Nabob would end in a rupture, it was thought necessary to form a plan for the conduct of the war, whenever it should break out.

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THE following disposition was resolved upon accordingly ; with which Mess. Amyatt and Hay were acquainted, and again directed to leave Mongheer as they could.

Extract of Consultation of June 18, 1763.
Present Mess. Vansittart, Adams, Billers, Cartier, Hastings, Marriott and Watts.

“ **I**T is agreed, in order to form a front for the protection of the Company's aurungs and lands, to secure their investment and revenues in the best manner possible, and to endeavor to collect what we can from the other provinces, to answer the expence of the war, that our troops be immediately prepared for taking post, according to the following disposition.

CAPTAIN KNOX, with his detachment, in the province of Beerboom ; a detachment of 200 of the Company's troops, and 300 seepoys, in the province of Nuddeea or Kiffnagur ; the body of the army from Gherettee, at Cossimbu-

zar; to possess themselves of the city of Moorshedabad. That in this disposition, the troops shall march as nearly as possible in a line, so as to be able to support each other, and the whole to act under the orders of major Adams.

THE distance of captain Knox's present station at Jellalore being considerable,

AGREED, That whilst the other preparations are making, he be directed to march to Midnapoor, and there wait with his party in readiness for moving, until he shall receive our further orders, leaving behind him one company of seepoys and two or three gunners, to defend the post at Jellalore."

As there was now so great an appearance of an approaching rupture, it was judged necessary to come to some certain resolution with respect to the government of the country on such an event. Supposing the removal of Meer Cossim from the subadarree should be the issue; likewise, with respect to the precautions which should be taken, for reimbursing
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to the Company the expence of the impending war; and to private merchants, the losses which they might sustain in their concerns in the country. On these points the several members were to come prepared with their opinions, to the next meeting, which was held accordingly on the 20th, and the following are their opinions."

Extract of Consultation of June 20, 1763.
Present Mess. Vanfittart, Adams, Billers,
Cartier, Hastings, Marriott and Watts.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

"**M**R. WATTS is of opinion, that should a rupture be unavoidable, the best method would be taking of the government into our own hands, on account of the Company; but as the keeping of it, and the settling it properly, will require a large force, he thinks it at present impracticable, and that the attempting it would be running a risk of involving the country in a scene of war, which, with our present force, we could not soon put a stop to. He therefore

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judges,

judges, that the most adviseable method will be the fixing upon a proper person who has some influence in the country; but that before we declare him, a treaty ought to be made, and every precaution taken to prevent any disputes hereafter, which will be unavoidable, if the limits of each party's power are not fixed, as also the liberties of our trade settled. These two points require much consideration, and as each party must give up something to the other, he begs leave to defer giving his further sentiments at present.

THE person who shall be appointed, should pay to the Company the charges that may attend the war; but as it cannot be expected he will, or it may so happen that he will not have ready money to answer this, and the many other demands he will have on him, at arriving to the government; and the pressing him for the payment might give uneasiness; he thinks a grant of certain lands might be given the Company for ever; and he would prefer the following, as they may
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be maintained with a very little expence, are almost secure against any invasion, and are those in which the greatest part of the Company's goods are manufactured ; all the lands bounded on the west, by the Hoogly river ; on the north, by the Jillinguy river ; on the east, by the Pudda ; and on the south, by the sea.

ALL lands and cities which lie between the south bank of the Magna, or any other great river to the northward of the city of Dacca and the sea ; and as far east, as that river may run.

HE also thinks, that the person fixed upon, should make restitution for all private losses.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

IN regard to the settling the country, in case of a rupture with the Nabob, and the removal of him from the subahship, which now appears unavoidable ; the first disposition that occurs, is the taking the country into our own hands, calling ourselves Dewan for the King, and applying to him accordingly for sunnuds, promising and paying him his annual revenues,

nues, for the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, as former Nabobs used to do, and which latter ones have never done. This disposition, however, is liable to many objections, and at present impracticable, as our whole force is very insufficient, to keep possession of such a tract of country.

THE next method that occurs, is the fixing on another man as Nabob, who may be more under our direction than the present. For there appears no medium can be observed ; we must either govern him, or he will us ; and we must submit to have affairs upon the footing they were in Serajah Dowla's time, if such a step is not followed.

IF putting another Subah in the government is approved, the next thing to be considered, is the person proper for this purpose ; and being unacquainted with any of the present Nabob's Jemmatdars, or other men of family in the country, I can think of no one but the late Nabob, whose chief cause for resigning the Subahship being then removed, he
would

would take the weight of government again on himself, and agree to what we might propose, which I think need only be the demands now made upon Cossim Allee Cawn, with a stipulation of the number of troops he should keep up, and also of the number of ours he should have about his person.

WITH regard to the reimbursing the Company, for the expences of the war, a calculation should be made of them, as near as possible, and such a sum required for the payment, either in money, or in the revenues of a tract of lands, held and collected by the Company, till such sum was discharged. It should likewise be stipulated, that the person promoted should make good the losses private persons may sustain on this occasion; but the necessary amount cannot be determined on at present; and that he should make a gratuity in money to the military for their services. Many objections I am sensible may be started against reinstating the old Nabob; one, our Honorable Masters approved of the late change; but yet, if their noble
acquisitions

acquisitions are continued to them, and tranquility restored in the country, I flatter myself they will not object to the name of Meer Jaffier Allee, whose natural resentment against us may be changed; and if it should not, it may be curbed, by keeping always some of our troops with him. The late Nabob's weak capacity, that was made an argument against him, I think would, consistent with good politics, rather plead in his favor, as it certainly can never be the Company's interest to have an enterprising Nabob, for the Subah of these provinces; it being so natural for a man, in that station, to endeavor at all rates to render himself independent.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

WHATEVER be the event of a war with the Nabob, which I yet hope may be avoided, as I have ever declared against all the measures that have led to it, I might well decline giving my opinion, with respect to the fittest establishment to take place upon the subversion of the present. But I must confess this a point
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of such difficulty, that I must of necessity leave it to abilities superior to my own, to point out such a provision as may serve both to remedy the divisions, and prevent the bloodshed, which such a change will introduce in the country, and to preserve the English name, and the Company from sinking with the weight of their own acquisitions. These consequences I think unavoidable, tho' there is little likelihood that our dispute with the Nabob will be of long duration, or give us much trouble.

FOR reimbursing the Company's expences, and the loss which their trade, as well as that of private merchants may sustain, in the course of the war, care should be taken to assign a proper and limited fund for that purpose, which may be determined upon, whenever the plan is fixed for the operations of the war.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

THE keeping of this immense tract of country for the use and service of the Honorable Company, would lead us into such a scene of difficulties, as we should
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not easily get over ; nor do I think the civil or military body, on this establishment, sufficiently large for the management and protection of the same, which would be the means of giving birth to endless wars and oppressions, and produce disaffections among the natives ; these, among other reasons that might be urged, are sufficient with me to disapprove a step of this nature ; but a war being in my opinion now unavoidable, it becomes necessary to consider what measures are most likely to bring it to a speedy conclusion, as well as those which may tend to support us in its duration. It is therefore, in my opinion, absolutely necessary we aim to form, or fix an alliance with such officers, as may be in or out of employ, under the present government, whose influence or credit might be of real service ; and that we immediately declare in favor of some person, as Subah of this province, whose interest in it might facilitate the method of gaining over these officers. The restoring of Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn to his former dignity, would be

be the most likely means of effecting those ends, and in all human probability most agreeable to the country. It would furthermore be doing an act of justice to a man, who, in my opinion, never injured us.

Tho' I declare in favor of Meer Jaffer Allee Cawn, I think we ought to regulate certain matters with him, as might tend to a solid establishment of his government, and preserve our own influence; which, if not abused, the restrictions we may subject him to, will, I hope, be considered as a method best adapted to continue a lasting peace in the country. The restrictions are as follows.

FIRST, That his standing army should not exceed 5000 effective horse, and 10,000 gunmen; and this body to be distributed on the different frontiers of his country. That his constant residence be at Moorshedabad, and that no more than 500 horse, and 2000 gunmen, do take post there. Mongheer to be evacuated by the court of his Excellency, and to be garrisoned as a fort. That a corps of 250 Europeans,

ans, and a battalion of seepoys, be always in cantonments at Cossimbuzar, for the protection of his Excellency's person, in case of necessity.

SECONDLY, That a treaty, previous to the operations of our army, should be settled with the Nabob, on the above points; likewise, as to the grant of jagheer funnuds, for the three provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong; the settling of our trade, on the footing we demand it to be on, till the pleasure of the Company is known; and a ratification of the rest of the several demands made on Cossim Allee Cawn, which we may think indispensably necessary to stick to. That the expences of the war be defrayed by the Nabob, and indemnification for all real losses that may be sustained by private persons of this settlement, in the course of the war, and since the commencement of these disputes, if owing to them; the capture of whatever treasure may be made from the present Nabob, to belong to Meer Jaffier, to enable him to answer the above disbursements,

bursements, and to make a gratification to the troops of his Majesty, and those of the Company.

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

MR. BILLERS gives it as his opinion, that (if the present Nabob, in consequence of a war is removed from the subahship) a person of influence should be put in possession of the government ; for, on a declaration of such our intention, it is to be imagined many of the zemindars, that are disaffected with the present Subah, would declare themselves in our favor. He would have such person put under proper restrictions ; likewise those sunnuds for the lands, now called tuncaws, changed into jagheeree sunnuds, and confirmed by him as such ; and the several remaining articles insisted on from the present Nabob, ratified by him. That he should be obliged to hold his court at Moorshedabad, and evacuate Mongheer, and only look upon it as a frontier town, and guard it as such ; he should be allowed a proper number of troops to guard the three provinces, and collect his re-

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venues, which number should be settled by the Governor and Council, and limited so, as to put it out of his power to hurt the English. He should be put in possession of all the treasure that may be found in Mongheer; and such riches as may belong to the present Nabob. For reimbursing the expences of the Company, and losses sustained by private people, he should be obliged to allow a certain sum, which may be hereafter stipulated.

IF he (Mr. Billers) is called upon to nominate a man, he thinks the former Nabob, Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn, in every respect, a very proper person.

HE is further of opinion, that a proper recompence should be made, both to the King's and Company's troops, for putting the person fixed upon in full possession of the government.

Major Adams's Opinion.

IF it should be deemed necessary to remove the Nabob, in consequence of a war, I think it will be requisite to set some person up in opposition to him, whose influence in the country may draw
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to his, and our assistance, many of the Nabob's officers. As I am not acquainted with either the influence or abilities of the principal men of the country, I beg to refer to the sentiments of the other gentlemen at the Board, whose personal acquaintance with them, and knowledge of their characters, enables them to judge who would be the properest person to treat with, on an affair of such importance.

THE person nominated should, I think, be laid under such restrictions, as to render him incapable of disturbing the trade or tranquility of the country, and oblige him to reimburse the Company the whole expence of the war, and satisfy the private merchants for the losses they may sustain; but that no step should be taken in the affair, until the Board have received answers to their letters, written to Mess. Amyatt and Hay on the 9th and 10th instant.

The President's Opinion.

ALTHO' some of the demands made upon the Nabob, and which have occasioned his present ill disposition, are such,

as I have always disapproved and thought unjust, and such as the Company's interests are no ways concerned in ; yet, I hoped, and believed the Nabob would have acquiesced therein, and waited with patience, till an answer could be received from the Court of Directors. But as he is so rash and ill-advised, as to commit acts of violence against us, of such a nature, as portend a total rupture, I shall use all diligence in forwarding the necessary preparations for such an event ; and notwithstanding my disapprobation of the steps, by which this war is likely to be brought on, at a time, when the Company's business meets with no interruption ; yet, when hostilities do unavoidably commence, no one will be more forward in promoting such vigorous measures, as seem most conducive to bring it to a speedy issue.

WHILE such measures are pursuing, and we are in a state of war, I shall think it my duty to remain here ; but as soon as I see our Honorable Masters affairs restored to a state of security and tranquility,

lity, I am determined to quit the chair, as I will never be concerned in a second regulation of the government of these provinces, after the deposing of Coffim Allee Cawn, which I suppose to be the intent of the war, and, in all human probability, will be speedily accomplished.

I WAS one of a Board of Select Committee, who, in the month of September, 1760, determined on the treaty with Coffim Allee Cawn, which soon after brought him to the Nizamut. Altho' our resolutions were unanimous, some members, who were at that time not in Bengal, raised afterwards abundance of objections, were not sparing of reproaches against the members who were present, and some even declared, they thought the said treaty not binding upon them. A strong opposition was formed hereupon, and every opportunity has since been taken, of aggravating disputes with the Nabob ; by which means, jealousies and suspicions have been nourished, until they are grown into the state, in which we now see them.

THUS experienced, it is not surprizing, that I should be unwilling to give my vote for any particular person, to succeed Cossim Allee Cawn, or to enter into a discussion of the Company's right to nominate to such succession, upon which some doubts may arise; for altho' they may contract with the nearest heir, to support his pretensions, which was the nature of our engagement with Cossim Allee Cawn, it does not follow, that they have a right to proceed to a new appointment, in case there be no heir of the same family. But as it is my design, that my government shall expire as soon as Cossim Allee is deposed, and the tranquility of the country restored, it is more for our Honorable Masters benefit, and the welfare of the province, that all questions relative to the succession, be decided by those who will remain here to support the person, in whose favor they may turn.

WHATEVER may be the resolutions of the Board, I shall do my utmost to promote their successful execution, as long

as I remain in the chair ; and the person who may be treated with, I think, should engage to pay the Company such a sum, as may be stipulated for the expences of the war ; as likewise such further sum, as shall be agreed upon for the indemnification of the losses, which the merchants, living under our protection, will unavoidably suffer in their concerns in the country."

AFTER these opinions had been read, and much debate passed on the subject at the Board, it was resolved, that the members should take time till the next meeting, to determine on a matter of such importance.

ON the 23d, arrived the following letter from Mess. Amyatt and Hay to the Board. Dated June 14, 1763.

"IT appears to us from the Nabob's disposition of his forces, both by his strengthening the detachments towards Beerboom and Moorshedabad, and his ordering to be assembled at Patna his troops from the Mey country, and other

places to the westward, and from what he has dropped in conversation, that he designs to attack, at the same time, both Burdwan, and our forces at Patna, in hopes of subduing them before they can be succoured. He continues to treat us with the greatest slight, and we almost daily meet with insults from his people. We have thought it necessary to write you the above, and to forward you a duplicate of the cypher, the receipt of which you have not yet acknowledged, as we are doubtful what the event may be, on our delivering the Governor's letter to his Excellency to-morrow, especially as we have received so little protection from him for our people, since we have been here; and he seems to have so high an opinion of his own force, which, we imagine, he is led to by the Armenian, who is his sole minister, and we believe the only person that influences him to a rupture. The last time we were with the Nabob, he told us, that peace or war depended on the removing our troops from
from

from Patna, which, if we complied with, he would then talk on business.

OUR gentlemen were again stopped this morning at the same chokey, and carried prisoners to the Nabob through his army; the Nabob has been pleased to say, he has confined the people, and will give us satisfaction for this.

A Note in Cypher.

WE delivered the Governor's letter to the Nabob this morning; on receiving which, he immediately declared there was war; but told us, we might wait till we received the Governor's and Council's orders, and send him under our hands and seals the amount of them, when in case they did not order down our troops from Patna, he would send us passports to go to Calcutta; but that he would detain Mr. Hay for security that his aumils, and the people in our hands, be delivered up.

WE conclude, that the Nabob's view in this, is principally to secure the safety of Petrus; we therefore recommend the immediate securing of that man, as Mr.

Hay's

Hay's only security, who has agreed to remain with the Nabob."

THE precaution, which they recommended with respect to Coja Petrus, was accordingly observed; tho' I had sufficient reason to believe their surmise groundless, since the Nabob's declared pretence for detaining Mr. Hay, was the most natural construction that could be put upon that action; and had he stopped here, the strictest justice could hardly have condemned him for it, after the provocation which we had given, and the example which we had afforded him; but I shall forbear any further reflections for the present on this subject, and hasten to the conclusion.

THE next letter brought a short glimpse of hope, and made me imagine, that the Nabob, having tried the effects of a long opposition, and dreading the consequences of a war, was now resolved to consent to peace upon any conditions. This letter was as follows.

Copy of a Letter from Mess. Amyatt and Hay to the Board. Dated June 19, 1763.

“ **T**HIS evening, Rajah Nobit Roy has been with us to inform us, that his Excellency consents to release the boats of arms immediately, and will treat without persisting in his preliminary demand of removing the troops from Patna; and we have accordingly agreed to wait upon him to-morrow.”

THE flattering prospect which this letter had opened, vanished almost in the instant of its first existence, and was succeeded by flying reports of troubles already commenced at Patna, which, tho' impossible to be traced to any credible authority, and told with improbable and contradictory circumstances, yet left no doubt, that some extraordinary and calamitous event had given rise to them. What added to the credit of these rumours was, that we had not heard from Patna for some days. And on the 30th of the month we were informed, by a letter from the gentlemen at Cossimbuzar,

zar, that our dauks had been made prisoners by the fougedar of Rajemahl, and the letters seized, by which our communication with Patna and Mongheer was stopped.

IN the mean time, I received two letters, in a very different style, from the Nabob, one on the 26th, and the other on the 29th of June. I shall enter both, and leave it to the reader to make the obvious comments on the pacific disposition, which the Nabob plainly shewed to the last, till driven to the necessity of standing on his defence, by the actual hostilities begun by our factory at Patna.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated June 19, 1763.

“ I HAVE received your kind letter with pleasure ; you write, that you have read the list of demands, presented by Mr. Amyatt, with my answer to each article ; that it is surprizing that not one of them have been consented to, and that I repeatedly write for the removal of the troops from Patna ; and that you and
Mr.

Mr. Amyatt never wrote to me that arms were not dispatched to that place, but that the forces which are already there want muskets. That I had stopped six boats loaded with muskets, and taken from the Company's gomastah at Bahar 2000 maunds of salt-petre. That 4 or 500 muskets, or 2000 maunds of salt-petre, were no great matter to either of us; but by such unprofitable actions, I rendered entirely useless and ineffectual, all your endeavors and study to preserve peace and union between us. That from all these circumstances you supposed, that I was resolved upon a rupture; if so, that I should write it plainly. That I might be assured, that unless I released the boats and arms, there would be an end to all our friendship and peace, and to all concerns between us. Sir, in my reply to each article of the demands, what have I answered contrary to the treaty, or not conformable to justice, or what business of yours have I put a stop to? Write me any instance that I may know it. From the professions

sions of you, gentlemen, and my own confidence in you, I assured myself, that the troops at Patna were for my service, and for that reason I sent for them. I now understand, that they are kept at Patna for the defence, and the business of the factory, and for my grievance and detriment. Had I known as much before, I should not have sent for them; nor had I any other reason for desiring their removal from Patna, but that Mr. Ellis is my professed enemy; and for these two years has created disturbances, leaving unattempted no means to ruin my affairs. For this reason, if you think it proper to keep up forces at Patna, and that the boats of arms should be released, it is fit that you should appoint Mr. Amyatt, or Mr. M'Gwire, or Mr. Hastings, whichever of these gentlemen you approve of, to the chiefship of Patna, and remove Mr. Ellis from that place. By this means, good order will be introduced into both our affairs; but if you, gentlemen, are resolved at all events upon a rupture, write me so plainly.

WHOEVER

WHOEVER wrote you, gentlemen, that I had seized your salt-petre, wrote an absolute falsehood, and with a wicked design. It is true, that 4 or 500 muskets, are no great matter to you ; nevertheless, they would be of use to me, in the appearance which they would have with the zemindars, and the common people of this country. If you will oblige me, by granting this slight favor, I may at length reap this benefit (be it great or small) in three years, from the influence of the Company; and the kindness of you, gentlemen. The amount of their price I will pay ; if you will not give them, you are masters of your own goods. You ought to consider well, from what quarter war and discord shew themselves. For instance, the English Council has sent strict orders to all the gomastahs of their factories, that upon any fault being committed, by any of the officers of the fir-car, they shall, without acquainting me, or my naibs, or aumils, chastize him, and carry him away a prisoner. And tho' I had dismissed Mahomed Allee from

from my service, and sent for him, when he had waited a few days to prepare his accounts, and was upon the point of setting out for this place, your people seized and carried him to Calcutta ; and besides this, they have imprisoned several others of the officers of the fircar.

It is needless to write, what disgrace they have thrown upon my affairs. Had I refused to punish them upon conviction of their faults, yet, in that case, it would not have been just to quarrel with my officers. Whatever claims or seizures, or war, or force were to be made, ought to have fallen upon me. After so opprobrious an act, so opposite to the rules of friendship, what room was there left for mutual confidence ? To your demand that I should write plainly, whether my designs are for war ? I declare to you plainly, that I upon no account do desire a war with you, gentlemen ; nor do I interrupt either the Company's trade, or your foreign commerce. But you, gentlemen, setting on foot once or twice every year a new treaty, enter into negotiations,

gotiations, and insist on an answer to your own liking; by this you leave me without remedy. Whatever is to be done, delay not. If I have done any thing contrary to the old treaty, acquaint me with it. You have taken Burdwan, and the other countries, for defraying the expences of the English army; and in the old treaty you have written, that your army shall attend me; and now, when I desire you to remove your forces from Patna, and suffer them to attend me, you make excuses and denials. This is foreign from justice. With respect to Mr. Ellis, how shall I speak, or how shall I write what quarrels he has made with my people from the beginning, and how he has injured my affairs? Now, he is every day making preparations against *Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn, and making a shew of his forces before him, and is ready to attack him. In this case, I and my people are without remedy. It is a duty on every man to defend his own honor.

P. S. SIR, concerning what you have wrote of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn's monthly allowance, you know, that at this time, I have not an aumil in any place, and that the revenues of the sircar are at a stand. As soon as the aumils are gone into their stations, I will without fail discharge it."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated June 22, 1763.

" I HAVE already acquainted you fully and repeatedly with the affairs of this place, and you will have understood the whole. At this time, upon the receipt of your letter, in which you insist on the release of the boats laden with muskets, I have complied with your desire, and released the boats with the muskets. But Mess. Amyatt and Hay have given me this plain answer, they have received an order of the Council, which is, that the troops at Patna shall never be removed, as you will observe by the letter written to me by those gentlemen, of which I send you a copy.

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As to the particulars of Mr. Ellis, what shall I write? Daily he is seeking occasion to quarrel with Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn Behader; and now, by what I can learn, that gentleman is bent upon the design of assaulting the fort of Patna. To this purpose, I have just received an arzee from Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn Behader, with a paper of news of that quarter. I opened them in the presence of Mess. Amyatt and Hay; a copy of each I send you inclosed in this letter for your perusal; and from them you will have a clear view of all particulars; and in the same manner, the English seepoys are committing all manner of violence and hostilities in the pergunah of Bahrbund. A letter upon this subject, which I received from Mahsing, the aumil of that quarter, I have shewn to the said gentlemen, and now send a copy of it likewise to you, for your information.

By your friendship and kindness my affairs have been brought to this pass. The meanest person that exists, could never have submitted to use so great a for-

bearance ; and that I have forborn so long, was owing to this only, that your reputation might not suffer with your masters. I now leave you to your own concerns. Since Mr. Ellis has proceeded to such lengths, as to prepare ladders and platforms, in order to take the fort of Patna ; now you may take whatever measures you think best for the interests of the Company, and your own. I repeatedly wrote to you to release me from this business, and appoint another, but you did not even reply to me on this subject. Since the chiefs of the factories are stretching out their hands against my honor and reputation, I and my people are in every respect without remedy, nor is it in my power to use any longer forbearance.

P. S. SIR, since the receipt of the former arzee from Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn Behader, another arzee, with a paper of news, is arrived ; the substance of it is, that the English are throwing down the houses at Baukipore,
and

and expelling the tenants, in order to make entrenchments.

WHEN the zemindar of that place went to Mr. Carstairs *, to represent this affair to him, that gentleman paid no regard to him.

I SEND you a copy of the arzee, and the paper of news."

Copy of a Letter from Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn Behader to the Nabob.

" I HAVE continually represented to your Excellency, that the chief of the factory at Patna is bent upon a rupture ; and your Excellency, in answer to my arzees, continually informs me, that a peace will shortly be concluded, and the English troops withdrawn from Patna. I have sent repeated representations of the state of this place ; and that that gentleman was resolved upon a rupture, insomuch, that he has even made platforms and ladders for scaling the walls of the fort. One day, he made them ready for this design, and was near the

X 3

walls,

* Commanding officer of the detachment.

walls, when a storm of wind and rain came on, and caused him to defer it. This is our state ; but your Excellency neither sends us any reinforcements, nor gives me any orders to fight ; what then am I to do, sitting inactive ? Since the seepoys of Bengal have gained an ill name, for their treachery to former Nazims, it is not in my power to bring myself to so much forbearance and want of spirit. If that chief is determined on a quarrel, I will put up with no more insults, but will fight with him.

P. S. ON the 5th of the moon, the hircarras of the fircar delivered me a paper of news, which I send, for your Excellency's information, inclosed.

Copy of the Paper of News.

I HAVE repeatedly informed your Excellency of the disturbances committed by Mr. Ellis. This is the present state ; the disturbances created by the said gentleman daily increase ; his seepoys come close to the fort, and give ill-language to the people of the fort ; and say to them, " what do you do fitting in the fort ?

“ Why

“ Why do you not come out into the
“ plain, that we may cut your heads off?”
In this manner they use insulting expressions ; and that gentleman has also made platforms, and high ladders for scaling the walls. One day, with this design, he approached the fort, when a storm of wind and rain came on, and caused him to defer it. I daily write to you what passes, but your Excellency takes no measures for redressing these disorders ; and Meer Mahomed Mehdjee Cawn Behader will not fight without your orders.

Second Paper of News.

To the west of Moorlidur's gardens dwelt many tenants; Mr. M'Leod * turned them out, pulled their houses down, and threw them upon the intrenchments, where builders are at work. The zemindar of the place, taking the tenants with him, carried them before captain Carstairs, and complained ; but receiving no answer, was forced to return with the tenants to his own house.”

* One of the officers of the detachment.

Copy of a Letter from Mahsing, Aumil of Bahrbund, to the Nabob.

“ **I** HAVE before represented the particulars of the assault made by Dearam, the English gomastah, with a body of 500 seepoys, &c. at the last pahr of the night, on the cutcherree of the pergunah of Bahrbund. At this time about 700 Europeans and seepoys are arrived at Cheelmarree in the said pergunah, have plundered the merchants and tenants, and making their way to the cutcherree, early in the morning they attacked my peshkar, in Rannee Gunge, they killed and wounded about 15 of my peons, &c. and committed great ravages. Though they are now returned to Dacca, yet they will not desist from their hostile intentions. These disturbances, repeatedly caused by the English, have entirely ruined the pergunah. The tenants are fled, the revenues are entirely at a stand, and the lands are waste ; added to these damages, the tuncaw of the Rangamettee fougedar has suffered ; and your Excellency can well judge in what manner
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the balances are to be recovered, and the new collections made, amidst these disorders. As the past disturbances have made it necessary to entertain a few horse and foot, for the protection of my honor, and I have been obliged to borrow money to pay them two months pay, I request, that a perwannah may be granted me for a tuncaw."

THE advices transmitted to the Nabob, by his officer at Patna, of Mr. Ellis's intention to attack the city, agreeing with the general report which had prevailed for some days, it was no longer doubted that hostilities had begun at that place ; and therefore, on the 2d of July, orders were given for the army to march from Gherettee. Some days before, a letter was dispatched to meet Mr. Amyatt, directing him to leave his escort at Cossimbuzar, which would sufficiently secure that factory till the army reached it.

IT is argued by many, that the army should have marched sooner ; but if it be considered, that the march of the
army

army would have been regarded by the Nabob, and all the country, as a certain declaration of war, it would have been improper, while we had any hopes from the negotiation ; and after that hope was nearly lost, it would have been imprudent to move the army, until our deputies had received their dismissal, lest it should put them in danger of being detained with their escort. All the necessary preparations were made to insure, as far as the nature of war will admit, the success of our arms in case of a rupture ; and if the Patna detachment had not been lost by their own disorderly behavior, the troubles would scarce have spread into Bengal.

ON the 4th arrived the following note in cypher from Mr. Amyatt, directed to Mr. Ellis, but brought by mistake to Calcutta, instead of another of the same tenor, addressed to the Board.

“ WE are made prisoners, as far as
 “ seizing our boats, and surrounding of
 “ us can make us. The boats of arms
 “ were

“ were stopped a few miles from hence*.

“ Mongheer June, 21, 1763.”

THE hircarra that brought the note reported, that being stopped and detained

* This was the last of Mr. Amyatt's letters from Mongheer, that reached us before the war was declared ; but major Adams finding some of his papers at Moorshedabad, sent me a copy from his letter-book of a letter of the 22d of June. This giving some further account of the footing on which he parted with the Nabob, I have thought proper to insert it.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Amyatt to Mr. Ellis, dated Mongheer, the 22d of June, extracted from his Letter-Book; where is a Memorandum, that he wrote a Letter of the same Tenor to Mr. Vansittart.

S I R,

From the Nabob's actions, two nights ago, we were effectually made prisoners, surrounded by a body of horse all night, and our boats seized. That day in the morning we desired Nobit Roy to tell the Nabob, as we were ordered to return, we could not, nor would not stay, therefore desired perwannahs and duffucks for our free passage; and if he did not give them, we would go without. In the evening Nobit Roy informed us, the boats with arms should be released; upon which we assured him, we would not think of going, but with the

detained a little on this side of Mongheer, by the Nabob's chokeys, he learned, that Mr. Amyatt was gone to Patna, and that our forces had attacked and taken the city.

THOUGH we could not depend upon this news, yet there was great reason to think it true; and from this moment I was to enter on a new part. Hitherto I had regarded the Nabob as the injured party; and his conduct from his accession to the subahship, to the opening of our the Nabob's consent. Notwithstanding this, he, that night, took the above precautions to stop us, not trusting our words. To-day all our boats were given us back again, and the Nabob has promised to dismiss us the day after to-morrow; for we declared to him, we could not think of treating with him as affairs are now situated, we prisoners, and he sending reinforcements to Patna, nor could we answer for the consequence, when all this intelligence reached you and the gentlemen in Calcutta. The boats with the arms are cleared from the chokey at Surrygarrah, and gone on, but there are many more chokeys for them to pass I believe. Thus matters stand at present, which I think necessary to inform you of. The Nabob has given us assurances of our persons and honor being safe, as far as words will allow.

I am, &c.

our last disputes, and even to the present period as irreproachable, excepting a very few instances easily to be accounted for, by the distress and despair to which he was driven. I considered myself as the instrument of his advancement, and that he placed his entire dependence on me, to support him in it, whilst he observed the conditions of the treaty ; and as more especially concerned to preserve the security of the Company's interests, and the tranquility of the country, upon the establishment which I had so principal a share in forming, and which the Court of Directors had approved, and ordered me to support. Therefore, in all our disputes, I had placed myself between the Nabob, and the rage of his opponents, till the flame grew too violent to be extinguished, and threatened our own possessions. But justice must now give place to necessity, and I must take the part which my station required, in repelling the evils to which the Company and the nation were exposed.

THESE motives had induced me to
form

form the resolution which I had before publicly declared, in a minute already noticed of the 20th of June, to remain in the chair, and assist in all the operations of the war, until it should be brought to a final issue, leaving it to the other members of the Council to form a new plan of government, in which I was determined to have no concern. This resolution I now repeated to the Board in the following minute ; believing, from the hircarra's report, that Mr. Amyatt, who was the next in succession to the chair, was now at Patna.

Copy of the Governor's Minute in Consultation of the 4th of July, 1763.

“ I THINK it certain from the stoppage of our letters, the intelligence of the hircarra and other reports, that hostilities have begun at Patna, and that the breach with the Nabob is irreparable. The army under the command of major Adams should therefore march on towards Mongheer, with all expedition, to secure the Company's possessions, and bring

bring the war to a speedy issue ; altho' I am quite of opinion, as I always have been, that it would be begun, continued and ended, by our forces at Patna. For the rest, as it is my resolution for the reasons mentioned, in my minute of the 20th of June, to quit the government as soon as the war is so far determined, as that the Company's settlements and possessions run no risk, and which I doubt not will be the case before the month of September. I shall be glad that Mr. Amyatt, who we have reason to hope is safe at Patna, was directed to return to Calcutta, by that time to receive from me the charge of the government, with the papers and instructions thereunto belonging."

THE minutes entered in consultation of the 20th of June, regarding the plan for settling the government, in case of the removal of Coffin Allee Cawn from the subahship, were now read again at the Board, in order to come to some conclusion upon the point ; and the opinions of ma-
jor

jor Carnac and Mr. Batson, which had not been taken with the rest, were now delivered in, in the following terms.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

THO' major Carnac entirely disapproved of the revolution in favor of Coffin Allee Cawn, and did not deem the authority, by which it was effected, as sufficient, from a conviction, if the whole Council had been consulted, the majority would have been against it; yet, from the moment we had the advice of our Employers having acquiesced therein, it became our common duty to support to the utmost the new Nazim, so long as our rights and privileges were not infringed by him; and the major can safely aver, no person at the Board is more truly concerned than himself, at the measures we are under the necessity of taking.

THE Nabob Coffin Allee Cawn has for some time past shewn such an indisposition towards us, as would render it the height of folly to place any confidence in him; and however inclined the
Board

Board have shewn themselves (by their long forbearance, and sending deputies) to the establishment of a mutual friendship, he has by his late acts absolutely put it out of our power, consistently with honor, to come to an accommodation with him. We shall therefore be justified to the Company and the world, in exerting our endeavors for the restoration of Meer Jaffier, an atonement which major Carnac looks upon as due to him, for the injustice he thinks was done him in deposing him; and he is of opinion, he should be proclaimed at Calcutta, and taken up with major Adams to Moorshedabad, and there placed upon the musnud. That a manifesto should be published, setting forth the reasons for the change of government; and there is no doubt, but as Meer Jaffier, from the consideration in which he has for many years been held, must have a number of friends; several of the most considerable persons in the country will flock to his standard. Major Carnac begs leave to submit to the Board the terms, which, in his opinion,

should be made the ground-work of a treaty, to be concluded between us and Meer Jaffier.

THE confirmation of the cession of the three provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong, with this alteration, that they be now made over to us in property, instead of their revenues only being assigned to us, as is the case at present.

AN universal freedom of trade to be allowed us, and the other privileges which the deputies were commissioned to demand of Cossim Allee Cawn. The defraying the expences of the war, and a full indemnification to be made to the private sufferers, as well as to the public, for all losses sustained. To enable Meer Jaffier to do so immediately, the treasure of Cossim Allee Cawn, if laid hold of, to be put into his hands; but in case of failure herein, the revenues of the Nuddea province to be mortgaged to us, till every body is reimbursed. The farm of the Poorneea salt-petre to be given to the Company.

THE evil consequence of suffering an overgrowth of power in a Nabob, being but too apparent, he should in future be limited in the number of his forces, so as to be obliged to have his main dependence upon those of the English; the principal of our troops should therefore be stationed at Burrumpoor, where there is a piece of ground already marked out and given to us; proper cantonments may be erected, and whenever he has occasion for their services, they may be ready. This disposition will preserve our military, it being a very healthy spot; whereas they have fatally experienced (the two last seasons particularly) the unhealthiness of Calcutta.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

THE Nabob Cossim Allee Cawn has plainly manifested by his general conduct, since he has been raised to the subahdarree, and more particularly by the several acts of hostility, to which he has lately proceeded, that he has the most inveterate enmity against us; and that his design is to extirpate us entirely out of

his country, if ever it should be in his power. The delays already procured by the gentlemen, who have so strenuously supported his cause, have subjected our affairs to great dangers and inconveniences, and brought on us some disgraces. I am of opinion, therefore, that to keep terms with Meer Cossim any longer, or attempt any accommodation with him, is highly detrimental to the interests of our Company and nation; and I propose, that we reinstate the old Nabob in his government, of which he has been unjustly deprived; hereby I think we shall attain the desirable end, of establishing the Company's affairs on a solid foundation, and clear ourselves of the imputation of a breach of faith, which, tho' really due to a faction amongst us, has thro' this been cast on the nation in general."

THE majority of opinions agreeing in the appointment of another person to the subahship, this point came the next under consideration, and the choice of
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the Board fell of course upon Jaffier Allee Cawn ; Mr. Hastings and myself remaining neuter upon the occasion ; and it was accordingly resolved, that he should be restored to the Nizamut. The next day we received two letters from Mr. Amyatt, the first dated from Seepgunge, the 25th of June, advising us, “ that from all the Nabob’s actions, he
“ and Mr. Hay both judged, that he
“ intended war, and that he would at-
“ tack our troops at Patna. That four
“ days before, an Armenian commander,
“ with a strong reinforcement of horse,
“ foot and cannon, went to Patna ; and
“ that the Armenians solely managed
“ him, and urged the disputes.” The last dated from Sootee, the 30th of June, advising us, that the Nabob had given him a passport, and sent a man with him, to conduct him and his party safe to Calcutta. We were accordingly in expectation of seeing him, when we received a letter from the factory at Cossimbuzar, informing us, that as he was passing the city of Moorshedabad, he was attacked

by the Nabob's forces. Mr. Amyatt himself, and some other gentlemen, killed, and the rest made prisoners.

SECTION XIII.

The new Treaty with Meer Jaffier, War with Meer Cossim, and the Massacre at Patna.

The Proclamation of Meer Jaffier, and Declaration of War.—Meer Cossim's Letter, confirming the Report of our Defeat at Patna.—Cossimbuzar Factory surrounded.—Minutes in Council of Mr. Vansittart, and Mr. Hastings, containing their Reasons for signing the Acts in favor of Meer Jaffier.—Proposed Articles of Agreement with Meer Jaffier. A Deputation of the Board sent to him with the Articles.—Minutes in Council of Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings, upon the Subject of the proposed Articles.—Preliminary Demands delivered by Meer Jaffier to the Deputies.—Debates and Resolutions thereupon.—Remarks on
this

this Subject.—Meer Jaffier's Objections to the Articles.—The Objections admitted.—Treaty with Meer Jaffier.—Further Demands of Meer Jaffier—Agreed to.—Letter from Meer Cossim to Major Adams, threatening to cut off the Prisoners in his Hands.—Mr. Vansittart's Letter to Meer Cossim on that Subject.—Major Adams's Answer to Meer Cossim.—The Massacre perpetrated.—Letter from Mr. Fullerton to the Board, giving an Account of this Catastrophe, and of his Escape.

THIS unexpected attack, which we judged for certain to be a consequence of hostilities, begun at Patna, being the next day confirmed by some of the gentlemen's servants, and one or two soldiers of the party, who had escaped the fate of the rest, determined the Board, immediately to declare war against Cossim Allee Cawn; and the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn having consented to take upon him the government, the following declaration of war against Cof-

sim Allee Cawn, and of the restoration of Jaffier Allee Cawn, was drawn up, signed by the members of the Council, and publicly read thro' the town, copies thereof being dispersed amongst the zemindars, and other principal people of the country.

✓ *Copy of the Proclamation of the Nabob Meer Jaffier.*

THE Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Allee Cawn, having entered upon, and committed acts of open hostility against the English nation, and the interest of the English united East India Company; we, on their behalf, are reduced to the necessity of declaring war against him; and having come to a resolution of placing the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader again in the government; we now proclaim and acknowledge him as Subahdar of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa: and further, as the said Cossim Allee Cawn, has likewise exercised acts of violence and oppressions over many of the principal

principal merchants and inhabitants of the country to their entire ruin, we do hereby require all manner of persons under our jurisdiction, and also invite all other officers and inhabitants of the country, to repair to the standard of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader, to assist him in defeating the designs of the said Cossim Allee Cawn, and finally establishing himself in the subahdarree.

GIVEN in Council at Fort William, the 7th day of July 1763, under our hands, and the seal of the said United East India Company."

WHILST the Board were sitting, the following letter arrived from Meer Cossim, and confirmed what we had for some days apprehended, the news of the defeat of our detachment at Patna. The particulars of this disaster, with the other operations of the war, are sufficiently known; let it here suffice to observe, that the city was surprized and taken without resistance, by our troops, in the night of the 24th of June; and by their disorderly

orderly behavior afterwards, whilst they were dispersed, and intent only on plunder, was retaken by a handful of the Nabob's people, the next day at noon; after which loss, the gentlemen of the factory, with the scattered remains of the army, retired a-cross the river, and were there all destroyed or taken prisoners.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob Cossim Allee Cawn to the Governor. Dated June 28, 1763.

“ **I**N my heart I believed Mr. Ellis to be my inveterate enemy, but from his actions, I now find he was inwardly my friend, as appears by this step, which he has added to the others. Like a night robber he assaulted the Kella of Patna; robbed and plundered the bazar, and all the merchants and inhabitants of the city, ravaging and slaying from the morning, to the third pahr (afternoon.) When I requested of you 2 or 300 muskets laden in boats, you would not consent to it. This unhappy man, in consequence of his inward friendship, favored

vored me in this fray and slaughter, with all the muskets and cannon of his army, and is himself relieved and eased from his burthen. Since it was never my desire to injure the affairs of the Company, what ever loss may have been occasioned by this unhappy man to myself, in this tumult, I pass over: but you, gentlemen, must answer for any injury, which the Company's affairs have suffered; and since you have unjustly and cruelly ravaged the city, and destroyed the people, and plundered effects to the value of lacks of rupees; it becomes the justice of the Company to make reparation to the poor, as formerly was done for Calcutta. You, gentlemen, are wonderful friends; having made a treaty, to which you pledged the name of Jesus Christ; you took from me a country, to pay the expences of your army, with the condition, that your troops should always attend me, and promote my affairs. In effect, you keep up a force for my destruction; since, from their hand, such events have proceeded, I am entirely of
opinion,

opinion, that the Company should favor me in causing to be delivered to me the rents for three years of my country. Besides this, for the violences and oppressions exercised by the English gomastahs for several years pasts, in the territories of the Nizamut, and the large sums extorted, and the losses occasioned by them, it is proper and just that the Company make restitution at this time. This is all the trouble you need take; in the same manner as you took Burdwan and the other lands, you must favor me in resigning them."

THIS was followed by a note from the gentlemen at Cossimbuzar, dated the night of the 4th of July, informing us, that the factory was surrounded by a numerous force, and that they expected an attack the next morning.

THE Nabob's letter putting it out of all doubt, that our troops at Patna, which consisted of a great part of our force, were entirely defeated, and the war becoming thereby more serious than had
been

been expected; that no appearance of disunion amongst ourselves might hurt the public service, I now resolved to set my name to the declaration of war, and the treaty with Meer Jaffier, in which I had before declared my intention to have no share. This I accordingly did, having first explained the motives for this change in my conduct, in the following minute, delivered in the consultation of the 8th of July.

The President's Minute.

“THE President (sensible that it will be more for the public service, we should appear unanimous in every measure now entered upon, for prosecuting the war against Cossim Allee Cawn with the utmost vigor, and supporting the alliance with Jaffier Allee Cawn, to re-establish him in the government; and particularly, that it will be a satisfaction to the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn) consents to sign the proclamation, and all other public deeds, which shall be made in consequence; now recording once for all, that he does not mean hereby to prejudice

dice his former declarations and opinions, entered on the consultations."

IN the same sentiments, I was joined by Mr. Hastings (the only member who had opposed the claims of the rest of the Board upon the Nabob, and the proceedings which brought on the war) in the following minute.

Mr. Hastings's Minute.

"It is long since I forboded that our disputes with the Nabob would terminate in an open rupture; but as from the ill opinion which I had of his strength, I expected that our contention with him would be of a very short duration, nor otherwise affect the interests of the Company, than in the future ill consequences of a broken and disordered state; and as I had not the same tie upon me with the President, in respect to any military charge, it was my resolution, as soon as a war should be declared, to resign the Company's service; being unwilling, on the one hand, to join in giving authority to past measures, of which I disapproved, and

and to a new establishment, which I judged detrimental to the honor and interests of the Company: and apprehensive, on the other, that my continuance at the Board, might serve only to prejudice, rather than advance the good of the service, in keeping alive, by my presence, the disputes which have so long disturbed our Councils, and retarding the public business by continual dissents and protests. But since our late melancholy advices, give us reason to apprehend a dangerous and troublesome war; and from the unparalleled acts of barbarity and treachery, with which it has opened on the part of the Nabob, it becomes the duty of every British subject to unite in the support of the common cause, it is my intention to join my endeavors for the good of the service, not only as long as the war shall last, but as long as the troubles consequent from it may endanger either the Company's affairs, or the safety of this colony. On the same principle, and to remove every appearance of disunion amongst ourselves,

I will

I will freely set my hand to the declaration published by the Board, though I still abide by the sentiments which I have all along expressed, of the measures taken in the course of all our disputes with the Nabob, hereby confirming all that I have declared in my former protests and minutes, which stand upon record in our consultations.”

I SHALL go back to relate the proceedings of the Board, in forming the new treaty of alliance with Jaffier Allee Cawn. A committee having been appointed to draw up the articles of this treaty, delivered in their proposals, in the consultation of the 6th of July, as follows.

Articles of the Treaty with Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn.

“ FIRST, To confirm to the Company the cession of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong, made by Meer Cossim, either by jagheeree, sunnuds, or such deeds as may secure the property
of

of them, in the strongest manner, to the Company for ever.

SECONDLY, To ratify and confirm to the English, the privilege granted by their Firmaun, and several hufbulhookums, of carrying on their trade by means of their own dustuck, free from all duties, taxes and impositions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of salt, on which, according to a resolution already taken, we agree to pay a duty of two and a half *per cent.* on the Rowana or Hoogly market price.

THIRDLY, That he do grant to the Company, the exclusive right of purchasing the salt-petre of the province of Poorneea; that he do also grant to them, for the space of five years, the sole privilege of making chunam, in the province of Silhett; half whereof shall be delivered to the fougedar there, for the Nabob's use, at the rate which the prime cost and charges may amount to.

FOURTHLY, That the troops of the English army shall always be ready to be employed in the service of the Na-

bob, for the support of his government, and the defence of his country; the Nabob on his part shall agree, that he will maintain in his pay, no greater number of troops than 6000 horse, and 12000 effective foot, for the protection of his frontiers, and collection of his revenues.

FIFTHLY, That wherever he shall think proper to fix his court, he shall agree to a body of our forces being always cantoned near his person, for the security thereof, and protection of his government; and that a Company's servant shall reside at his court, to transact any affairs between the Company and the government.

SIXTHLY, That the late perwannahs issued out by Cossim Allee Cawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, as they are detrimental to the revenues of the government, and highly destructive of the immunities enjoyed by the Company from their Firmaun.

SEVENTHLY, That the Nabob shall
engage

engage to cause the rupees coined in Calcutta, to pass in every respect throughout his government without any deduction, equally the same with the rupees struck in his own mint.

EIGHTHLY, That he shall defray all the expences and loss accruing to the Company from the war, and stoppage of their investment, and reimburse to all private persons, the amount of the authenticated losses, which they may sustain in their trade in the country.

NINTHLY, That for the former purpose, he shall give thirty lacks of rupees ; for the latter, ten lacks of rupees.

TENTHLY, That the most authentic account of these losses shall be laid before a committee of the Board ; and that all sums of money, which may exceed the losses sustained by the Company and private persons, shall be faithfully restored to the Nabob.

ELEVENTHLY, That whatever treasure or effects may be seized at Mongheer or elsewhere, belonging to Cossim Allee Cawn, the Nabob shall be put in possession

possession of, to enable him to make good the stipulations in the ninth article.

TWELFTHLY, That if we should not be so fortunate as to seize Cossim Allee Cawn's treasure and effects, the Nabob shall assign over the revenues of certain lands for making good the sums stipulated.

THIRTEENTHLY, That the treaty entered into between the Nabob and the Dutch, in the year 1760, to which we, by the desire of both parties, signed as guarantees, shall, after his restoration to the government, be renewed ; and with regard to the French, he shall engage, that when they come to re-establish themselves in Bengal, they shall not be permitted to build forts, or keep up any forces, or hold any territories whatever, exclusive of their trading factories."

I SHALL add what followed in the words of the consultation.

"THE foregoing articles, the committee are of opinion, may be included in a public treaty to be ratified between us and the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Allee

Allee Cawn Behader, and would further recommend, that a method be settled with him for determining such disputes in trade, as may arise between the English agents and gomastahs, in the different parts of the country, and the officers of the government.

AGREED, that major Adams, major Carnac, and Mess. Batson and Cartier, be appointed a deputation to wait on the Nabob Meer Jaffier, to acquaint him with our resolution in his favor, and the substance of these articles, and report his answer to the Board; and if he should accept of the government, on the terms therein contained, to recommend to him to use his interest in gaining over such of the country people, as may be attached to his cause, and particularly to appoint proper officers for collecting the revenues of the provinces, which lie at hand for us to take immediate possession of.

The President's Minute.

THE President on this occasion minutes, that having already declared he should not be a party to this or any other

treaty, which might be made with the country powers, he remained neuter to the question, with respect to the propriety of the articles proposed ; yet, as his opinion has been asked upon them, he declares, that he can see no objection to any of the articles, excepting the second, which he has already given his opinion, extends the privileges of our private trade beyond the true intent and meaning of our Firmaun, beyond what is consistent with the English reputation in the country, and with a good understanding with the Nabob; and this without any benefit to the Company. Further, that he does not at present recollect any thing to be added to the articles, which is material to the Company's service.

MR. HASTINGS's opinion being likewise required on the articles, he delivered it in writing as follows.

Mr. Hastings's Minute.

I DECLARE my dissent from the treaty proposed to Meer Jaffier, and think, that if his restoration to his just rights be the point aimed at in it, there is a
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manifest injustice and inconsistency, in exacting his compliance with new terms, not mentioned in the original agreement with him ; notwithstanding, as my opinion upon the several articles now before the Board is required, I shall freely give it, but as a neutral member only, for the good of the Company, whose interests may be essentially affected by them.

FIRST, I agree materially with the first article, but think, that the lands should be fully made over to the Company by treaty, and not by jagheeree sunnuds ; the first conveying a certain property, and the latter leaving them still dependent.

SECONDLY, I disapprove of the second article for the reasons given by the President.

THIRDLY, I think the monopoly of the Poornea salt-petre, an acquisition very trifling for the Company, and likely to distress the Nabob greatly, by depriving him entirely of one of the principal necessities of life.

FOURTHLY and Fifthly, To make the

Nabob an useful ally, and not a meer instrument in the hands of the Company, for the exercise of their own power, it is my opinion, that a larger body of horse might be maintained by him, than the number to which it is proposed to limit him, tho' that may serve when he is at peace, and in no apprehension from an enemy ; but that the foot (an useless and expensive rabble) be entirely excluded from his army, and only a few kept up to be employed in the collection of his revenues, where only they can be of service.

For the real purposes of war, he can need no other infantry than ours ; and his own army, consisting only of horse, and unincumbered by the disorderly crowd of Peons and Burgundasses, with their baggage and train following them, will be more under the command of their leader, and may act with greater advantage in conjunction with our forces.

SIXTHLY, Tho' I opposed the demand made on the present Nabob, to reverse the decree passed by him for a free trade,

as

as an encroachment on his rights, and a breach of our own treaty ; yet, I think it may with propriety be made an article in the new treaty, tho' the strict execution of such an order, must of necessity be left to the Nabob's own pleasure.

SEVENTHLY, I judge the Nabob's order insufficient to enforce the currency of the Calcutta siccas ; but it may with propriety be insisted on, as it may serve as a just pretence for regulating the coin of the country in general, when ever the Board may have leisure, in conjunction with the Nabob, to resume the subject ; and upon this, my opinion in few words is, that the only effectual regulation to answer equally the purposes of commerce and the revenues, would be to strike off the batta entirely, on all rupees of the Bengal standard, and abolish the pernicious custom of lowering the value of rupees every year.

THE other articles appear to me very proper, nor do any other occur to me, that ought to be added to them.

THE

THE gentlemen now withdrawing from the Board to wait on the Nabob ;

AGREED, that we adjourn till the evening."

*" At a Consultation of the Evening of
July 6, 1763.*

P R E S E N T

The Hon. Hen. Vansittart, Esq; President.

Thomas Adams, Esq;

John Carnac, Esq;

William Billers, Esq;

John Cartier, Esq;

Warren Hastings, Esq;

Randolph Marriott, Esq;

Hugh Watts, Esq;

THE gentlemen, who waited as deputies on the Nabob, report to the Board, that they made known to him the resolution of Council in his favor, and endeavored to give him a general knowledge of the articles which it is thought requisite he should agree to, as also of the other circumstances which were recommended by the Board. To the whole, he in general terms replied, that he assented to resume the government; but that before he would determine on particulars, or
enter

enter upon business, he desired to have delivered to him a copy of the articles in the Persian language, and that we would comply with the two following requests. First, To secure the person of Coja Petrus, and have him taken up with the army, as he may be made the means of carrying on a correspondence with his brother. Secondly, To permit him to take into his service Nundcoomar, as his muttasfeddee, to assist him in commencing and carrying on the business.

IT being necessary therefore, that the Board should determine immediately on these requests, for the benefit of forwarding the business with the Nabob, their opinions, with regard to Nundcoomar, were first collected as follows.

The President's Opinion.

WITH respect to the appointment of Nundcoomar for the Nabob's muttasfeddee, the President desires his opinion may be minuted, that from the knowledge he has had of Nundcoomar since he came to Bengal, he thinks him a dangerous man, and not fit to be trusted; but that he
does

does not think it is in his power to dissent from the Nabob's taking whom he pleases, or indeed, that it is necessary, as he will * not be a party in the treaty.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

MR. WATTS has no objections to the Nabob's appointing Nundcoomar to be his muttaseddee.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

MR. MARRIOTT is of opinion with the President, that Nundcoomar is not a man fit to be trusted, but that if the Nabob insists upon it, he must be allowed to appoint him. That he looks upon Roydoolub, in many respects, as a more proper person, if thro' the persuasion of the gentlemen in the deputation, the Nabob could be prevailed upon to appoint him.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

MR. HASTINGS is of the same opinion with the President, in regard to Nund-

* It is to be observed, that this declaration was made the 6th of July—My resolution to sign the proceedings with Meer Jaffer, was not till the 8th, altho' in the course of this narrative, it is first mentioned, page 333.

Nundcoomar's character, but leaves it to the other gentlemen to take what measures they please, for the security of the future establishment.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

MR. CARTIER is of Mr. Watt's opinion.

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

MR. BILLERS is of Mr. Marriott's opinion.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

MAJOR CARNAC is of opinion, that Roydoolub would be a more proper person, as having more influence in the country; and therefore thinks the gentlemen in the deputation should mention him to the Nabob; but as he apprehends he (the Nabob) will still insist upon appointing Nundcoomar, that he cannot be refused him.

Major Adams's Opinion.

MAJOR ADAMS has no knowledge himself of the intrigues of Nundcoomar, but from his general character, given him by gentlemen who know him better, he thinks, if the Nabob would dispense with

with him, it would be more proper; yet, if the necessity of the times may make his services requisite to the Nabob, and he insists on appointing him, he thinks that we cannot refuse.

*Sum of the Opinions and Resolutions in
Consequence.*

IT being thus resolved, that if the Nabob should be still desirous of appointing Nundcoomar his muttasfeddee, it shall be admitted him.

AGREED, that Nundcoomar be in such case released from his confinement*.

NEXT, in respect to the Nabob's request, regarding Petrus.

The President's Opinion.

THE President is of opinion it may be complied with, so far as to send him up with the army, but that he should be under no restraint; because he thinks the appearance of Petrus's being employed by us, would be a means of sowing a jealousy between the Nabob and Petrus's brother;

* He was in confinement, for having forwarded a correspondence between the Shahzada and the Governor of Pondicherry during the French war.

brother ; and, on the contrary, apprehends that confinement, or any other severity exercised towards Petrus, from being reported to the Nabob with exaggerations, as is always the case, might be the cause of a worse treatment to our gentlemen, who are in the Nabob's hands. He thinks further, that Petrus, before he goes, should take the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and an oath of fidelity to the Company, in order to subject him more regularly to our laws, in case of his failing in his duty. That we shall have in our hands all the security, which it is in a man's power to give ; namely, his wife and family, and houses and effects, to a great amount ; and if he should resolve to forfeit all these, and perjure himself, leaving the army, and going over to the Nabob, the President lastly thinks, that it is not in his power to do us any prejudice ; and therefore that by this method of treating him good may come, but no harm.

MESSIEURS Watts, Marriott, Hastings,

ings, Cartier and Billers, are of the same opinion.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

MAJOR CARNAC is very indifferent whether Petrus go with the army, or remain in Calcutta; but thinks in either case, as he is of so near a relation, as that of a brother to the person, who has the chief direction of the Nabob's affairs, and therefore justly to be suspected of being a well-wisher to him, his person ought to be secured, to prevent his giving any intelligence of our preparations; and, moreover, the major believes his detention may be a means of engaging Coja Gregory to use his influence with his master, for the preservation of our gentlemen now in his power, for fear we should retaliate upon his brother. He does not think any security can be given by Petrus, sufficient to justify us in giving him his liberty. As to his family, tho' left with us, he is convinced we will not hurt them; and with regard to whatever effects he may have at Calcutta, the Nabob can more than compensate him for the loss of them.

Major

Major Adams's Opinion.

MAJOR ADAMS thinks Petrus should go with the army, but that he should be put under proper restraint.

Resolution of the Board.

IT is therefore resolved, that Coja Petrus shall be sent with the army, and that he shall be under no restraint; but that major Adams be directed to keep such an eye over his actions, and make such use of him, as he shall judge necessary for the good of the service."

THE arguments produced in the course of this debate, will shew how far the public service was concerned in Nund-coomar's advancement, and Petrus's disgrace. To me the proposal evidently appeared, as it probably will to the world, only as the first display of the triumph of an unrelenting faction. I have already taken notice, in the course of this narrative, of the prejudices which were raised against Coja Petrus, and his brother Goorgheen Cawn, from the favors shewn by the Nabob to the latter,

who was in his service, and derived from him to Coja Petrus.

MANY attempts had been made to render Petrus obnoxious to our government ; and he had probably suffered the greatest disgraces, if not worse consequences, had I not protected him, knowing the aspersions thrown upon him to be utterly groundless, and the passionate invectives against Armenian insolence and authority, meer artifices to keep alive the flame of party. Tho' I was persuaded, in my own mind, that it was the same spirit which dictated to the Nabob Meer Jaffier the proposal, yet as it was urged with the pretence of promoting the public service, I consented to it, with the exception to his being kept a prisoner, and the majority of the members came into the same opinion.

As to Nundcoomar, he had hitherto made himself remarkable for nothing but a seditious and treacherous disposition, which had led him to perpetrate the most atrocious acts against our government, having been detected and convicted

ted by the voice of the whole Board, in encouraging and assisting our enemies in their designs against Bengal ; taking the opportunity of the indulgence granted him, of living in Calcutta, under the Company's protection, to make himself the channel for carrying on a correspondence between the Governor of Pondicherry, and the Shahzada then at war with us. During the subahship of Jaffier Allee Cawn, he had distinguished himself by fomenting quarrels between him and the Presidency. After the promotion of Cossim Allee Cawn, he became as active, but with greater success, in inventing plots, and raising jealousies against him. This gave him an ascendancy over some of the members of the Board, and made him a party object; by which, and an unparalleled perseverance, he was enabled to set the whole community in a flame. Such was the man whom the Nabob chose for the administration of his affairs, and whose exaltation to this rank, he made a condition of his acceptance of the subahship.

THE articles of the treaty having been sent to the Nabob, were returned with the following alterations, which were agreed to by the Board, for the reasons annexed.

The Nabob's Objections to the Articles.

“ IN article 2d, he objects to the words, “ that the three provinces shall “ be invested in the Company for ever,” alledging, that in fact it is not material to the Company; as any future Nabob, who was inclined and able to dispute the Company's possessions, might insist it was a cession which he had no right to make; and that the same might be objected to his prejudice by the King, if he comes to be established at Delly; and therefore desires the article may run as formerly, for defraying the expences of the English army.

IN article 4th, he desires he may have half the produce of the Poorneea salt-petre, for the use of his own Sircar.

IN article 6th, he increases the number of his forces to 12,000 horse, and 12,000 foot, on account of the addition
of

of territory, by the reduction of Boudgepoor and Betteea countries ; and adds, that in case of troubles, he may take more into his service, with the consent of the Governor and Council.

IN article 7th, he refuses to stipulate, that a body of English troops should always attend him, alledging, that it implied a suspicion of his friendship, and good intentions towards us, would be extremely prejudicial to his, as well as our business ; and therefore insisted, that it should stand, that such a number of troops as he, at any time should desire, should be sent to attend him."

THE same, with his reasons assigned, were maturely considered and debated on.

Resolution of the Board.

" THE Board are unanimously of opinion, that they should be agreed to, because they think the three first alterations which the Nabob has made, for the reasons given, are very just ; and that the other being an alteration which he positively refused to reverse, it is thought better not to insist upon it, for fear of giving him distrust ; especially, as the

present situation of affairs (which renders the Nabob's presence at the city, as soon as possible, absolutely necessary) will not admit of time being wasted in discussing them further.

ON the 11th, the treaty was concluded, and interchanged with the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, who, at the same time, presented a paper of demands, to be engaged to on the part of the Company, and it was subscribed to accordingly. The following are copies of both."

Articles of a Treaty and Agreement, concluded between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the Part of the English East India Company; and the Nabob Shujaa-ool-moolk Hissam o Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader Mohabut Jung.

On the Part of the Company.

"**W**E engage to reinstate the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader, in the Subahdarree of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, by the deposal of Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn;

Cawn ; and the effects, treasure, jewels, &c. belonging to Meer Mahomed Cofsim Cawn, which shall fall into our hands, shall be delivered up to the Nabob afore-named.

On the Part of the Nabob.

FIRST, The treaty which I formerly concluded with the Company, upon my accession to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honor and reputation of the Company, their Governor and Council as my own, granting perwannahs for the currency of the Company's trade, the same treaty I now confirm and ratify.

SECONDLY, I do grant and confirm to the Company, for defraying the expences of their troops, the chucklas of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong, which were before ceded for the same purpose.

THIRDLY, I do ratify and confirm to the English, the privilege granted them by their firmaun, and several hushbulhookums, of carrying on their trade by means of their own dustucks, free from all duties, taxes and impositions, in all

parts of the country, excepting the article of salt, on which a duty of two and a half *per cent.* is to be levied on the Rowana or Hoogly market price.

FOURTHLY, I give to the Company half the salt-petre, which is produced in the country of Poorneea, which their gomastahs shall send to Calcutta; the other half shall be collected by my fougedar, for the use of my offices; and I will suffer no other person to make purchases of this article in that country.

FIFTHLY, In the chucla of Silhet for the space of five years, commencing with the Bengal year 1170, my fougedar, and the Company's gomastah, shall jointly prepare Chunam, of which each shall defray half the expences; and half the Chunam so made, shall be given to the Company, and the other half shall be for my use.

SIXTHLY, I will maintain twelve thousand horse, and twelve thousand foot in the three provinces; and if there should be occasion for more, the number shall be increased proportionably to
the

the emergency. Besides these, the force of the English Company shall always attend me when they are wanted.

SEVENTHLY, Wherever I shall fix my court, either at Moorshedabad or elsewhere, I will advise the Governor and Council ; and whatever number of English forces I may have occasion for, in the management of my affairs, I will demand them, and they shall be allowed me ; and an English gentleman shall reside with me, to transact all affairs between me and the Company ; and a person shall also reside on my part at Calcutta, to negotiate with the Governor and Council.

EIGHTHLY, The late perwannah issued by Cossim Allee Cawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties, for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

NINTHLY, I will cause the rupees, coined in Calcutta, to pass in every respect equal to the siccas of Moorshedabad, without any deduction of batta ; and
whosoever

whosoever shall demand batta shall be punished.

TENTHLY, I will give thirty lacks of rupees to defray all the expences and loss accruing to the Company, from the war and stoppage of their investment ; and I will reimburse to all private persons the amount of such losses, proved before the Governor and Council, as they may sustain in their trade in the country ; if I should not be able to discharge this in ready money, I will give assignments of land for the amount.

ELEVENTHLY, I will confirm and renew the treaty which I formerly made with the Dutch.

TWELFTHLY, If the French come into the country, I will not allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forces, or hold lands, zemindarrees, &c. but they shall pay tribute, and carry on their trade as in former times.

THIRTEENTHLY, Some regulations shall be hereafter settled between us, for deciding all disputes which may arise between the English agents and gomastahs

tahs in the different parts of the country, and my officers.

IN testimony whereof, we the said Governor and Council have set our hands, and affixed the seal of the Company to one part hereof; and the Nabob aforementioned, hath set his hand and seal to another part hereof; which were mutually done, and interchanged at Fort William, the 10th day of July, 1764.

(Signed) Henry Vansittart,
John Carnac,
William Billers,
John Cartier,
Warren Hastings,
Randolph Marriott,
Hugh Watts."

Demands made on the Part of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, to the Governor and Council, at the Time of signing the Treaty.

"**F**IRST, I formerly acquainted the Company with the particulars of my own affairs, and received from them repeated letters of encouragement with presents.

presents. I now make this request, that you will write in a proper manner to the Company, and also to the King of England, the particulars of our friendship and union ; and procure for me writings of encouragement, that my mind may be assured from that quarter, that no breach may ever happen between me and the English ; and that every Governor and Counsellor, and Chief, who are here, or may hereafter come, may be well disposed and attached to me.

SECONDLY, Since all the English gentlemen, assured of my friendly disposition to the Company, confirm me in the Nizamut ; I request, that to whatever I may at any time write, they will give their credit and assent, nor regard the stories of designing men to my prejudice, that all my affairs may go on with success, and no occasion may arise for jealousy or ill-will between us.

THIRDLY, Let no protection be given, by any of the English gentlemen, to any of my dependents, who may fly for shelter to Calcutta, or other of your districts ;
but

but let them be delivered up to me on demand. I shall strictly enjoin all my fougedars and aumils on all accounts, to afford assistance and countenance to such of the gomastahs of the Company, as attend to the lawful trade of their factories; and if any of the said gomastahs shall act otherwise, let them be checked in such a manner, as may be an example to others.

FOURTHLY, From the neighborhood of Calcutta to Hoogly, and many of the pergunahs bordering upon each other, it happens, that on complaints being made, people go against the taalookdars, reiat, and tenants of my towns, to the prejudice of the business of the Sircar; wherefore, let strict orders be given, that no peons be sent from Calcutta on the complaint of any one, upon my taalookdars or tenants; but on such occasions, let application be made to me, or the Naib of the fougedarree of Hoogly, that the country may be subject to no loss or devastation. And if any of the merchants and traders which belonged to the bux-bunder

bunder and azimgunge, and have settled in Calcutta, should be desirous of returning to Hoogly, and carrying on their business there as formerly, let no one molest them. Chandernagore, and the French factory, was presented to me by colonel Clive, and given by me in charge to Ameer Beg Cawn. For this reason, let strict orders be given, that no English gentlemen exercise any authority therein, but that it remain as formerly, under the jurisdiction of my people.

FIFTHLY, Whenever I may demand any forces from the Governor and Council for my assistance, let them be immediately sent to me, and no demand made on me for their expences.

THE demands of the Nabob Shujaoool Moolk Hissam, o Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader Mohabut Jung, written in five articles. We the President and Council of the English Company do agree, and set our hands to, in Fort William, the 10th of July, 1763."

* Signed, &c.

HAVING

* Majors Adams and Carnac absent.

HAVING related all the material transactions with Meer Cossim, from his advancement to the subahship, till the period in which he was no longer regarded by us as the governor of these provinces, I shall refer the reader to the accounts already published of the operations of the war, which are foreign to the purpose of this work. It will suffice here to say, that by the superior courage and discipline of our troops, and the admirable conduct and activity of major Adams their commander, the war was brought to a conclusion, by the expulsion of Meer Cossim beyond the Caramnassa, in about five months from its commencement, with little loss, besides that of the unhappy prisoners who fell into Meer Cossim's hands at the beginning of the troubles, and were put to death at Patna by his orders, on the 5th of October. With some particulars of that dreadful catastrophe, I shall conclude this narrative.

THE first intimation of such a design, we received in a letter from Meer Cossim to major Adams, a few days after the attack

tack of the entrenchments at Oodwa Nullah ; the following is an exact translation of it.

Translation of a Letter from Cossim Allee Cawn to Major Adams. Dated September 9, 1763.

THAT for these three months you have been laying waste the King's country with your forces, what authority have you ? If you are in possession of any royal Sunnud for my dismissal, you ought to send me either the // original, or a copy of it, that having seen it, and shewn it to my army, I may quit this country, and repair to the presence of his Majesty. Altho' I have in no respect intended any breach of public faith, yet Mr. Ellis, regarding not treaties or engagements, in violation of public faith, proceeded against me with treachery and night-assaults. All my people then believed that no peace or terms now remained with the English, and that, wherever they could be found, it was their duty to kill them. With
this

this opinion it was, that the aumils of Moorsshedabad killed Mr. Amyatt, but it was by no means agreeable to me, that that gentleman should be killed. On this account I write ; if you are resolved on your own authority to proceed in this business, know for a certainty, that I will cut off the heads of Mr. Ellis and the rest of your chiefs, and send them to you. •

EXULT not upon the success which you have gained merely by treachery and night-assaults, in two or three places, over a few jemmatdars sent by me. By the will of God, you shall see in what manner this shall be revenged and retaliated."

THE threats contained in this letter, did not give me any great apprehension at the time, as it was a natural and obvious policy in the Nabob, to make use of the advantage which he had in his hands, to intimidate us to a compliance with his terms ; and to execute those threats, would be to deprive himself of

that advantage, without any equivalent gained for it. As Meer Cossim had never shewn any marks of a cruel disposition, there could be no sufficient reason to suspect him of a design, to make a wanton sacrifice of so many lives to his revenge, much less to involve those in the same fate, who could in no respect be regarded by him as objects of his resentment.

It was, however, in his power to execute the worst of what he threatened; and the most proper argument to divert him from such a resolution, I judged, was to set before his eyes the horror, as well as inutility of the act, and the guilt and infamy which would attend it. This I did in the following letter, which I wrote to him upon this occasion, with the advice and consent of the Council.

*Copy of a Letter from the Governor to
Cossim Allee Cawn. Dated September 17, 1763.*

“ I HAVE received from major Adams the copy of your letter to him, dated the last of Sæffer. Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay were sent to you as ambassadors, a title sacred among all nations; yet, in violation of that title, you caused Mr. Amyatt to be attacked and killed on his return, after having given him your passports; and Mr. Hay you unjustly kept as a prisoner with you. You surrounded and attacked our factory at Cossimbuzar, and carried away our gentlemen from thence prisoners, in a most disgraceful manner to Mongheer, altho’ they had no concern in the war, nor resisted your people. In like manner, in all other parts you attacked the English agents who were carrying on their trade quietly; some you killed, and some were carried away prisoners, and their effects were every where plundered. After these proceedings, do you ask for what reason major Adams was sent with an army? You know the laws

of God and man ; as you had declared you would turn the English out of the country, and had proceeded as far as you could towards it, it became necessary for us to take measures for our own defence, and for the care of our own reputation. Thanks be to God, that success has attended our army thus far, and they will continue their march in the same manner as far as the Caramnassa, that the country may be freed from disturbances, and the inhabitants relieved from the horrors of war ; and altho' we are shocked, as must all people of all religions and all nations, at the revenge which you threaten to take upon the lives of our chiefs, who have been unfortunately and unjustly taken prisoners by you ; yet, the honor of our nation, and the interests of the Company, will not be sacrificed to this consideration, nor the operations of our army stopped. To put prisoners of war to death, is an act which will appear shocking and unlawful, not only to Christians and Mussulmen, but to the most barbarous Pagans ; such sentiments
are

are no where to be met with, but among the beasts of the forest. After the battle of Oodwa Nulla, above a thousand of your officers and men were prisoners in the hands of Major Adams, who released them without hurt or injury. Reflect on this, and on your own character, both in this world and the next; and remember also, that if you had followed my advice, this war would not have happened."

IN the mean time, major Adams judging the most effectual method would be to act upon the Nabob's fears, had already returned an answer to his letter, in the following terms.

*Copy of a Letter from Major Adams to
Coffim Allee Cawn.*

" I RECEIVED your letter, and understand the contents. The English having always had in view the articles of the treaty, endeavored by pacific measures to reconcile all differences with you, till the perfidious massacre of Mr. Amy-

att compelled them, contrary to their inclinations, to declare war against you. You say, it was not your intention to murder Mr. Amyatt, why then did you not punish the aggressors with the utmost severity ? There are three months elapsed and nothing done. We have now, by the assistance of Providence, brought your affairs to a very low ebb. It is true, you have Mr. Ellis, and many other gentlemen in your power ; if a hair of their heads is hurt, you can have no title to mercy from the English, and you may depend upon the utmost fury of their resentment, and that they will pursue you to the utmost extremity of the earth ; and should we unfortunately not lay hold of you, the vengeance of the Almighty cannot fail overtaking you, if you perpetrate so horrid an act, as the murder of the gentlemen in your custody."

BUT both threats and expostulations proved ineffectual ; and our unhappy countrymen, to the number of about fifty Company's servants, civil and military,

ry, and other gentlemen, and a hundred private men, were sacrificed to a boundless revenge.

MR. FULLARTON, the surgeon of the Patna factory, the only person who escaped the wretched fate of the rest, saw Meer Cossim immediately after the execution of this horrid tragedy; and it is from him only, we can have a certain account of the state of mind he was in at the time, a state little different from madness, since he could have a thought of treating with us, after having wantonly shed the blood of so many of our countrymen; this will be seen in the following extract of a letter which Mr. Fullarton wrote to the Board on the subject.

Extract from Mr. Fullarton's Letter to the Board.

“ MR. Ellis, with the rest of the gentlemen, were inhumanly butchered by Shimroo *, who came that evening to the place with two companies (he had the day before sent for all the

B b 4 knives

* Sombre or Sumroo, a Frenchman in Meer Cossim's service.

knives and forks from the gentlemen) he surrounded the house with his people, and went into a little outer square, and sent for Mess. Ellis, Hay and Lushington, and with them came six other gentlemen, who were all terribly mangled, and cut to pieces, and their bodies thrown into a well in the square, and it filled up; then the seepoys were sent into the large square, and fired on the gentlemen there, and rushing upon them, cut them into pieces, in the most inhuman manner, and they were thrown into another large well, which was likewise filled up.

THE 7th, the Nabob sent for me, and told me to get myself in readiness to go to Calcutta, for that though he had been unlucky in the war (which he asserted with great warmth, had not been of his seeking, nor had he been the aggressor, reproaching the English with want of fidelity, and breach of treaty) yet he said, he had still hopes of an accommodation; he asked me what I thought of it. I told him, I made no doubt of it. When some of his people, who were present,

present, mentioned the affair of Mr. Amyatt's death ; he declared, that he had never given any orders for killing Mr. Amyatt ; but after receiving advice of Mr. Ellis's having attacked Patna, he had ordered all his servants to take and imprison all the English in the provinces, wherever they could find them ; he likewise added, that if a treaty was not set a foot, he would bring the King, the Morattas, and Abdallas against us, and so ruin our trade, &c. He had finished his letters, and ordered boats, and a guard to conduct me ; when, upon the advice of some of his people, he stopped me, and said, there was no occasion for me to go. After his sending for me at first, he ordered the seepoys, in whose charge I was, to go to their quarters, two moguls, and twelve hircarras to attend me, but to let me go about the city where I pleased. I then applied for liberty to stay at the Dutch factory, which was granted. I applied to Mehdee Allee Cawn, for his interest in behalf of the gentlemen in the Chelston, who were
seven

seven in number, and were not killed till the 11th of October; but when he was petitioned about them, he gave no answer; but still sent orders to Shimroo, to cut them off. I likewise applied to Allee Ibrahim Cawn, who interceded for them; but he gave him no answer either, tho' I was present when Ibrahim Cawn petitioned for them.

THE 14th of October, on the approach of our army, Cossim Allee decamped with his troops in great confusion, and marched as far as Fulwarree, five coss to the westward of the city. The hircarras that were with me having no orders about me, I gave them some money, which made them pretty easy.

THE 25th, after giving money to a jemmatdar, that had the guard to the westward of the Dutch factory, by the riverside, I set out in a small pulwar, and got safe to the boats, under command of captain Wedderburn, that were lying opposite to the city, on the other side of the river, and at 11 o'clock that night arrived

arrived at the army, under the command of major Adams, lying at Jonsy."

A P P E N D I X.

General Observations upon the preceding Events, with some later Occurrences.

Remarks upon Meer Cossim's Administration ; his Behavior in the Course of the Disputes with the Council, and after the War broke out.—Observations on the Death of Mr. Amyatt.—The Necessity and Propriety of the Assault of Patna examined.—Review of Meer Cossim's Character and Conduct at different Periods.—Proofs of the Intrigues carried on against Meer Cossim, at the Courts of the King, and Shuja Dowla, by Mr. Ellis, and Major Carnac.—Explanation of Mr. Vansittart's Conduct to the Nabob, and to the Party which opposed him.—Reflections upon the Nature of the inland Trade ; the Complaints on that Subject, lately made by
Meer

Meer Jaffier; and the Restrictions agreed on in Consequence.—Mr. Vanstuart's Reasons for prolonging his Stay in Bengal.—Conclusion.

THE reproach which Meer Cossim has brought upon himself, by the cruelty exercised on the unhappy prisoners at Patna, puts it in a manner out of my power to do justice to the former part of his conduct, since how strictly soever he may have adhered to his engagements with the English, this will always recur as an argument to vindicate every injury done him before this period; and the repeated violations of the treaty, on our part, whilst we were on terms of friendship with him. However, as my design is not to become an advocate for Meer Cossim, but to justify my own conduct, in opposition to that of the other members of the Council towards him, in which no incidents since past could possibly have served as a motive; I shall proceed to a short examination of his behavior, and that of the party which
opposed

opposed him, from his first advancement to the subahship, to the breaking out of the war ; after which, I shall add some remarks upon my own, in the difficult part which I had to act between both.

SINCE the Nabob Meer Jaffier could not bear an assistant in his government, upon the footing proposed to him, but rather chose to quit it, I thought it fortunate that the next right fell upon a man so well qualified as Meer Cossim was, for restoring œconomy and good order to the distracted affairs of the country. In this light he was represented to me by all the gentlemen of the Select Committee, upon my arrival in Bengal ; and his conduct from the beginning, till the war broke out between us, fully answered this character.

HE discharged the Company's debt, and the heavy arrears of his army ; retrenched the expences of his court, which had before consumed the income of his predecessors ; and secured his own authority over the country, by reducing
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the power of the zemindars, who were before continual disturbers of the peace of the province. All this I saw with pleasure, well knowing, that the less need he had of our assistance, the less would be the Company's expences; and the better able they would be to attend to the care of their own possessions, at the same time that we might depend upon him, as a sure and useful ally against any common enemy. I was convinced, that whilst we did not encroach upon the Nabob's rights, or disturb his government, he would never wish to quarrel with us; and, in effect, so cautious was he of giving occasion for dispute, that no one instance can be produced of his sending a man into any of the lands ceded to us, or molesting us in a single article of our commerce, till the contention which he was drawn into by the usurpations of our gomastahs, and our new claims with respect to our private trade; and even to the breaking out of the war, during the height of our disputes, the Company's business, in every part, went
on

on without the least interruption, excepting one or two aggravated complaints of Mr. Ellis's concerning the salt-petre business.

How different was the conduct of the gentlemen, who had formed themselves into a party against him ! From the time of his advancement to the subahship, scarce a day passed, but occasion was taken from the most trifling pretences, to trample upon his government, to seize his officers, and to insult them with personal threats and invectives. I need not point out instances of this, they will be seen in every page of this Narrative ; and any one of them would have been, in the Nabob, pronounced a sufficient reason by those very gentlemen for declaring war against him. It is not to be wondered at, if, irritated and tired out with these continual attacks, he should grow suspicious of our friendship, which only manifested itself in professions contradicted daily by our actions ; or that his resentment should, upon some occasions, have urged him to retaliate the injuries

injuries which he received. Yet for a long time he submitted to all his grievances, contenting himself with remonstrating against them, in the hopes, that it would be in my power, some time or other, to restore him to his authority.

THE first instance of his using force to repel the violences that were offered him, was in the attack of the remainder of the party at Mow, which had just before seized and carried off one of his principal officers. Such an indignity offered before his eyes, and in the presence of his whole army, was sufficient to provoke him to some desperate act; and an absolute forbearance must have rendered him contemptible to the last degree, in the eyes of his own people. Yet after he had caused the seepoys and the gomastahs to be brought before him, he even then gave a fresh instance of his desire to preserve a friendship with us, by dismissing them without any further notice, than to reproach the gomastah for having drawn this unprovoked insult upon him, altho' his
own

own officer was at this time close prisoner at Patna.

THE great pains taken by Meer Cofsim, in his letter to major Adams, and in the conversation which he had afterwards with Mr. Fullarton, to clear himself from the charge of Mr. Amyatt's death, must have struck the reader with the appearance of great inconsistency; in the first, he threatens to put to death all the English that were in his hands; and at the time that he saw Mr. Fullarton, this threat had actually been carried into execution but two days before; yet with the consciousness of having recently sacrificed so many lives, to a deliberate and undistinguishing revenge, he could appear unaffected with all that had passed, excepting the death of a single person, which he labored to prove the effect of the violence of his officers, who had exceeded his orders. This unhappy affair, even supposing him as culpable as he appeared to be at the time in which it was transacted, had many circumstances to extenuate the guilt of it,

when put in comparison with the last dreadful effect of his resentment.

THE suspicion which he had from the first entertained of Mr. Amyatt's deputation ; the date of that gentleman's departure from Mongheer, compared with that of the attack of Patna ; and the natural conclusion which he could not avoid drawing from it, that Mr. Amyatt had advised it ; might, in the sudden impulse of his fury, have hurried him to revenge himself, in this manner, on Mr. Amyatt, for an action which he put to the account of a treachery on his part, designed to be put in execution, as soon as he should be out of the Nabob's reach. Whether this was the case or not, it is plain, he looked upon the death of Mr. Amyatt as the principal cause, the proclaimed motive of our declaring war against him, and every thing that had happened afterwards, but as a just and natural consequence of the war. In a word, he thought it needless to justify himself upon any of the blood that was spilt after the war was begun,

begun, and studied only to prove that he did not begin it.

THAT we were the first aggressors, by the assault of the city of Patna will not be disputed. I will not take upon me to pronounce how far Mr. Ellis, in taking this ill-fated step, or the Board in authorizing him to do it, were to blame; of this every one will judge, from the light in which it may differently appear to him. My own opinion is, that Mr. Ellis's intention was, from the beginning, to break with the Nabob; and that the discretionary powers, which he so earnestly solicited, and so passionately complained of being withheld, were wanted only as a sanction for executing what he had already resolved on: of this I repeatedly declared my apprehensions; and, for that reason, always refused to give my consent to any orders that put it in the power of Mr. Ellis to begin the war, when he should think proper; and, in effect, no sooner was he in possession of such an authority, than

he immediately made the use of it which I had dreaded.

IT will be argued by many, that the war with the Nabob was unavoidable ; and, therefore, that Mr. Ellis was in the right to strike the first blow, if, by so doing, he could secure an advantage ; for my own part, I do not think we were at that time so near to a rupture, but that it was our power to have avoided it, and upon our own terms, had we been in earnest inclined to it.

MR. AMYATT's negotiation had been broke off, because the Nobob saw, that whatever concessions he might make, would be rendered of no effect, by the preparations which Mr. Ellis was making to attack the city of Patna, and would appear only as proceeding from a consciousness of his own weakness ; he therefore dismissed Mr. Amyatt, and as far as we can learn, with all the usual marks of friendship and respect. No war was declared by him, but the last determination upon the subject of our differences left to the Governor and Council ; and
Mr.

Mr. Hay remained with the Nabob as a pledge, for the release of such of his officers as we had made prisoners.

I THINK, that had Mr. Ellis left the Nabob any hope of an accommodation, he would have consented to the terms which were demanded of him, and submitted to all the inconveniencies they would have laid him under, until justice could be done him by the Company. This was certainly his intention, when he took the trouble to write them so full a * remonstrance of his grievances; and it seems to have been his disposition so late as the 19th of June, as may be judged from his letter †, and Mess. Amyatt and Hay's ‡ of that date, where it appears that he released the arms, desisted from his preliminary demands, and consented to proceed in the negotiation.

POSSIBLY the advices from Patna had given him hopes, that Mr. Ellis might refrain from hostilities, till war or peace should be concluded on between him and Mr. Amyatt, or the Board. If such

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was

was his expectation, he was soon undeceived by Mehdee Allee Cawn's letter*, which informed him that Mr. Ellis was preparing to attack the city. He then ordered the boats with arms again to be stopped, but still consented that Mr. Amyatt should take his leave, and transmit him the final determination of the Board from Calcutta.

THOSE who are fond of searching for refined and deep designs in the most natural actions, may attribute these frequent changes in the Nabob's behavior, to a policy formed to blind Mr. Amyatt and gain time; which, however, will not appear very probable, if we reflect, that the whole of this transaction happened in the short space of two or three days.

IN this situation Mr. Amyatt left the Nabob; Mr. Ellis heard of it the evening of the 24th of June, and the same night surprized and took the city.

LET any impartial person now put himself in the place of Meer Cossim, and say

say whether he could have regarded this assault on the city of Patna, in any other light than as an act of treachery ; and the strongest argument, that all the pacific declarations and proffered treaties, were only artifices to make him a dupe to our designs, and the instrument of his own ruin.

ALTHO' I have disclaimed the principle of attacking the Nabob first, because it was probable that he might attack us (an argument which would equally justify every act of enmity, to those whom we have at any time injured ;) yet, I will suppose it allowable to seize such an advantage, if the safety of our forces at Patna absolutely depended upon it. To form a judgment of this necessity, it will be proper to consider the force which we had at that time at Patna, compared with that which major Adams had under his command during the war.

THE former I have already * mentioned to consist of 220 European infan-

C c 4

try,

* See the return, page 160. It is true, Mr. Ellis advises that 200 seepoys had deserted from the

try, non-commiffioned and foldiers ; 27 officers, 57 men of the artillery, and 2500 feepoys, rank and file, befides officers, the moft part of the feepoys the oldeft, and the beft difciplined of any in the fervice.

MAJOR ADAMS had, before the battle of Gheerea, about 800 Europeans, including artillery and cavalry ; and about 2200 feepoys, many of which were new recruits raifed in Calcutta and the neighborhood.

THE difproportion between the two bodies, will by no means appear fo great, as that of the fervices which they were to perform. Major Adams had to encounter the Nabob's whole force, already fluffed with fuccefs; whereas the detachment at Patna (which was then generally efteemed, and confeffedly by Mr. Ellis himfelf, fuperior to any force that the Nabob

lift to the 5th of June ; but as the beft accounts fince collected of the force which attacked the city, makes the number of feepoys about 2300, it is probable the encouragment of batta, given them by Mr. Ellis, as mentioned in his letter of the 6th of June, prevented any further defection.

Nabob could send against it) had nothing to fear but from a part of the Nabob's troops ; since it is not likely, that he would have left the whole province of Bengal exposed to our army, to go and attack them at Patna ; and as a proof of this, it appears from Mr. Amyatt's letters before he left Mongheer, that the Nabob had actually sent forces down to Bengal.

NEITHER supposing it necessary to attack the city of Patna, would the place have been made more defensible by any reinforcements that the Nabob might have sent into it, since their numbers were so great already (as Mr. Ellis repeatedly mentions in his letters) that any added to them would but have increased their confusion ; yet the city was carried without the least difficulty ; and I believe it is sufficiently clear, that it was not the want of numbers, but of order, that occasioned our miscarriage afterwards.

MEER COSSIM had not to this time shewn any instance of a vicious, or a violent

violent disposition; he could not be taxed with any act of cruelty to his own subjects, nor treachery to us. He had sense enough to know, that the English friendship would be his greatest security, and to dread their power, if ever they should come to be his enemies. As he perceived some of the Council were disinclined to him, he was the more cautious to avoid giving occasion of dispute; and as long as he saw I could support him against any direct insults, he suffered many affronts and encroachments upon his government with forbearance; but when the disputes became more serious, and measures were taken of such a nature, as made him judge we were determined to break with him; sensible of the increased power of his enemies, and disappointed of the support which he had been made to expect from the Company, he found himself necessitated to act a different part, and at the same time that he endeavored to evade the impending storm, to provide against the effects of it. This will easily be seen in
the

the change of his behavior after the summoning of the general Council ; and to this cause may be ascribed the too great attention he latterly paid to the complaints of his officers, and his connivance at their oppressions ; which, whilst his complaints against our own agents yet remained unredressed, he could not punish, without exposing his own weakness, and forfeiting the attachment of the most useful of his subjects.

THUS far his conduct may bear the severest examination ; and as an argument that it was generally approved by his own subjects, it is remarkable, that when the war broke out between us, altho' he wanted the courage to face his enemies in person, yet his soldiers fought for him with a bravery and fidelity rarely experienced in the undisciplined troops of Indostan ; nor did any one of his officers, in the most distant part of his dominions, revolt from his authority to join us, till Patna was taken, and he was preparing to fly the province. This must be attributed to their affection for him, unless

unless we rather chuse to place it to the account of their contempt for Meer Jaffier, or their resentment of our oppressions.

As to the last wretched act of Meer Cossim's government, altho' it is far from my design, and from my nature, to attempt to justify his cruelty, yet it is easy to account for it. His forces had been successively worsted; his country was wrested out of his hands; all his hopes of a reconciliation were for ever cut off by our new engagements with Meer Jaffier, and his re-appointment to the subahship. He had no way to elude the danger which pressed upon him, but to fly for shelter into the dominions of the Nabob Shuja Dowlah, where his last resource was in the casual support, which the ambitious views of his protector, concurring with his safety, might for a few days afford him: but his ruin he knew to be irretrievable, and a violent death the certain consequence of ill success and lost power. A dreadful reverse of fortune in a man, who, but a few months before, saw himself master of the richest
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province of Indostan, and so secure from all appearance of danger at home, as even to form the design of encreasing his dominions, by the conquest of others!

FALLEN as Meer Cossim was to this state of desparation, it is no wonder that his temper broke all his former restraints, and gave a loose to that spirit of revenge, so common among his countrymen, and inculcated by their religion and education. In effect, the hoarded resentment of all the injuries which he had sustained in continual exertion of patience, during the three years of his government, from this time took entire possession of his mind, now rendered frantic by his natural timidity, and the frightful prospect before him; and drove from thence every other principle, till it had glutted itself with the blood of all within his reach, who had either contributed to his misfortunes, or by real or fancied connections with his enemies became obnoxious to his revenge. In a word, as the influence of those who were the Nabob's avowed

avowed enemies amongst us, had encouraged the contention, which at length became universal against him ; his resentment no longer limited itself to particulars, but became national ; and the English in general, as well as their adherents, were the natural objects of it. Such was the dreadful end of the measures, which a violent party had prosecuted with immoveable perseverance, from the beginning of Meer Cossim's government ; although I had spared no pains to persuade them, and all the world, of the necessity of the measures which I had taken, and to restore unanimity to our country, by which the tranquillity so happily established would have been preserved, and those effects prevented, which have since fallen, with equal severity, upon us all !

THE Nabob, in many of his letters, complained of a correspondence carried on by Mr. Ellis, and major Carnac, with Shuja Dowla ; and of a concerted design, to procure the King's nomination of another person to the subahdarree. This

certain-

certainly was a subject of very great uneasiness to the Nabob ; but however assured he might be of the reality of such designs, he could never produce sufficient proofs to satisfy the Board of the truth of them, as those gentlemen constantly denied the charge, affirming it to have no other foundation, than in his disaffection to the English, and his readiness to credit every idle report to their disadvantage. It has since appeared, that he had but too much reason for these complaints, as will be seen in the following extracts of two letters, which were received from Shitabroy, and Momtaz o Dowla, since the conclusion of the war, when they might think there was no longer any occasion to conceal their services, but rather chose to make a merit of them with both parties, now united against Meer Cossim.

*Extract of a Letter from Rajah Shitabroy
to Major Adams.*

“**Y**OU are acquainted with the attachment I have long shewn to the English gentlemen; accordingly, you have seen with your own eyes the favors bestowed on me by colonel Coote; and you may remember, that he introduced me to you at Gherettee. Moreover, you must have heard from colonel Coote, and major Carnac, of my services in treating with the King. Afterwards, when I retired out of the Patna province, on account of the enmity of Meer Mahomed Cossim, I went to the Royal army, where I remained eight months with the King, and the Vizir; and then the Vizir sent me along with Mharajah Bennee Behader, who is Naib of the provinces, and has authority over all the affairs of the empire. As I was always extremely desirous of obtaining the good will of the English gentlemen, I forwarded all the letters which Mr. Ellis and Mr. Lushington sent to the Court, and treated for them in a proper manner; and accordingly it is universally

versally reported, that all the business of the English Chiefs at the Imperial Court is carried on through Shitabroy."

Extract of a Letter from Momtaz o' Dowla Ferzund Cawn Buxy, to Major Carnac. Received December 15, 1763.

"**M**EEER COSSIM, notwithstanding the smallness of his charge, and the short duration of his government, is yet greatly in debt to the Royal Sircar ; his Majesty has long been displeased with him. You several times represented to the Royal presence the Behaviour of Meer Cossim, and your earnest desire, nor was it unadvisable or disapproved ; and his Majesty's inclinations and endeavours are now likewise entirely suitable."

I HAVE been accused by my enemies, of espousing, too partially, the cause of the Nabob ; and my friends have blamed me as much for exercising too great lenity to the faction which opposed me. I think it necessary to shew the princi-

ples on which I guided myself towards both.

THE Nabob was scarcely advanced to the subahship, when the party formed itself against him; and as they made no secret of their sentiments, but rather industriously published them, he had notice of it almost as soon as it was formed, and of the measures which were taken to support it, and overset him.

HE was told, that colonel Coote, major Carnac, Mr. Amyatt, and Mr. Ellis, had written against him to the Company; that they had sworn together to effect the restitution of Jaffier Allee Cawn; and that Mr. Fullerton * had been dispatched to England, to assist in the same design. It was therefore my business to endeavor, by every means, to convince him of my friendship and resolution to support him in all his just rights; and in this I so far succeeded, as to gain his entire confidence in my attachment to him, and to preserve an influence over him, as long as he saw, that I had it in my power to befriend him. In supporting him,

* One of the surgeons of Calcutta.

him, I knew I supported an establishment, with which the interests of the Company were so connected, that they could not be separated without danger of involving both in ruin; and I knew also, that he never could raise his power to an equality with ours, nor attempt to shake off his dependency on us, with the least probability of success. Besides, do any laws allow, that every stronger power may encroach upon the rights of his weaker neighbor, for fear that, at some future time, he should become able to dispute upon more equal terms? But the supposition of such a design, in the Nabob, proceeded only from a consciousness of having done him such injuries, as might naturally move his resentment. Instead, therefore, of adding ruin to former injuries, we ought to have desisted from our encroachments, and by that easy and just method, have confirmed the friendship between us; a conduct the more indispensable, as we were bound to observe it, by the strongest ties of public treaty.

To establish him, therefore, in the full authority over his own people, and allow him the just rights of his government, was to make him an useful ally instead of a burthen to us, which he must be without these, whilst, by shewing a steady zeal and attachment to his interests, we should insure the same attachment in him to ours, and make him a faithful one.

THIS rule I laid down for my conduct; and as far as it consisted with the interests of the Company to which it was subservient, I invariably pursued it, excepting where the violence of faction forced me into measures, which I could not prevent; and even then I kept the same principle in view, and renewed it when I could, with safety to the cause which I was defending; and I have now the conscious satisfaction of reflecting, that had the rest of the gentlemen, at the head of our affairs, conducted themselves by my example, we should, to this time, have enjoyed the acquisitions derived to us from Meer Cossim's advancement

vancement to the subahship, improved by all the benefits that a settled tranquillity, and a flourishing commerce, could add to them ; and have had every reason to rejoice in our friendship and connection with a man, whom we now regard as a vagabond, a murderer, and the worst of tyrants, rendered such by the despair to which our injustice has driven him.

WHILST I labored to keep the Nabob firm to his engagements, I was no less sollicitous, on the other hand, of introducing a good understanding amongst ourselves. It is true, I neither attempted this by unbecoming solicitations, nor by consulting the personal interests of those whom I wished to see of the same opinion with myself ; but resting on the integrity of my own heart, I opposed every attack on the establishment, which I had been an instrument in raising, and withstood every assault upon my own character, with temper and forbearance ; knowing, that to oppose their violence with equal violence, would but accelerate the ruin of the Company's affairs,

which it was my aim to prevent. I may add, that I am not in my own nature inclined to acts of severity, but rather to look upon the errors and passions of others, with the indulgence which I should expect to my own ; and I yielded the more readily to this prevailing inclination, because I knew, that nothing tended so surely to the destruction of any state, even in the most flourishing circumstances, as divisions amongst those who rule it ; and I hoped, that whilst I kept such a guard upon my own conduct, as to obviate every pretence of censure against myself, and avoided all disagreeable and personal altercations, the flame of contention would go out of itself, for want of fuel to keep it alive.

SUCH were my hopes, but I knew not the spirits I had to deal with ; and I found, too late, that the gentlest usage, lost all its effect with prejudices so deeply rooted, and with minds compelled, by mutual ties, to persevere in the cause in which they were once engaged.

If my opinion be asked, what precautions

tions are necessary to prevent fresh troubles, and a renewal of our disputes with the country government. I answer, that either the rules agreed on with Meer Cossim must be adopted, or an entire stop put to the innovations which have taken place since the capture of Calcutta, and the private trade restrained within its ancient bounds.

THE reason is plain ; great advantages accrued from these articles of trade, both to the country merchants who used to carry it on, and to the government by the customs they drew from it. Both these are now cut off, and the advantages in a manner engrossed by the English, who say, they will pay no customs ; and, to support this usurpation, our agents and gomastahs are armed with an authority, independent of the officers of the government.

IF we restrain the power of our agents and gomastahs, and acquiesce in the Nabob's officers exercising their proper authority, in deciding disputes where such dependents of ours are concerned, then

they, for the most part, will abuse their authority, and totally obstruct that trade, impelled not only by the jealousy with which they regard this innovation of ours, and by their own interests, but by the complaints of the country merchants, who find themselves excluded, and the oppressions to which this trade is more peculiarly liable when under no controul.

THE Nabob's right to this authority in his own government, cannot in justice be disputed, and the less, as our own jurisdiction does not extend thither; nor have we either judges to determine disputes in those distant parts, or laws to determine them by; yet this right of the country government is superseded, and I am afraid, must be, if it be resolved, that the privileges of our private trade extend so far; and it may not be improper to remark here, that it was upon this reasoning, I agreed in the consultation of the 1st of March, that our agents and gomastahs should not be subject to the actual controul of the country government, after having assured the Nabob
in

in the regulations that they should ; for the Council having resolved, that they would insist on a free trade in all articles, and to all places, there was no way of preserving it, but by superseding that right of the Nabob's government.

THE violences with which the Nabob's officers exercised their authority, the instant it was put into their hands, and the encouragement which the Nabob had given to it, made me less attentive to the natural rights of justice in this case, where I saw plainly, that on either side there would be great oppressions ; and I less dreaded the effects of any complaints which the Nabob might make, than the dangerous consequences which they would produce, if we ourselves were the sufferers.

THE present Nabob Meer Jaffier, is no less clamorous upon these subjects, than Meer Cossim was ; and I am plainly of opinion, that upon the present system, no friendship can be preserved with any Nabob. The two governments clash too frequently to stand upon a friendly footing ;

footing; and therefore, if it is not thought right to establish the regulations and restrictions before-mentioned, it is the highest degree of absurdity, to pledge the national faith to a treaty, which it is not possible should subsist; and to bind ourselves to support the Nabob in the authority over his country, when we deny him the exercise of that authority for the protection of his own subjects, at the same time too, that we confessedly want the power to protect them ourselves.

It has been asserted by Mess. Johnstone and Hay in some of their minutes, and I believe by other members of the Board, that the oppressions of the gomastahs, so frequently complained of by the Nabob, had no existence. As an incontestible proof that such did, and actually do exist, it may not be improper to subjoin some extracts of letters I have received on the subject at different times, from the chiefs of the subordinate factories.

THE first, is an extract of a letter
from

from Mr. Cartier, chief at Dacca, dated the 8th of November, 1761, in answer to one I wrote him a few days before, to forbid the use of force in trade, and particularly the practice of obliging the inhabitants to purchase tobacco, whether they wanted it or not, and at an exorbitant advanced price. This extract will serve at once to shew the countenance which these oppressions have met with, and the impossibility of carrying on the inland trade without the use of force, which must be productive of oppressions; unless we would reconcile it to the country government, by paying duties like other merchants

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Cartier to the Governor. Dated Nov. 8, 1761.

“ **A** FREEDOM of trade is too desirable not to be wished for, but difficult to be established. While the country government are interested to assist those that pay a duty on importation, they will secretly use methods to prevent the sale of our goods, if left to their
full

full liberty; or was I to undertake to sell below the common run of the market, the pykars and merchants would be intimidated from trading with me, unless permitted to do so; nor is it probable they would, when it is so opposite to the interest of the people in the government: so that an undue and ruinous influence must be exerted on one side, and nothing left to oppose it."

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. George Gray, Chief at Malda, to the Governor.
Dated January 7, 1764.*

"SINCE my arrival here, I have had an opportunity of seeing the villainous practices used by the Calcutta gomastahs in carrying on their business. The government have certainly too much reason to complain of their want of influence in their country, which is torn to pieces by a set of rascals, who in Calcutta walk about in rags, but when they are sent out on gomastahships, lord it over the country, imprisoning the reiatees and merchants, and writing and
talking

talking in the most insolent, domineering manner to the fougedars and officers."

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Senior,
Chief at Cossimbuzar, to the Governor.
Dated March 23, 1764.*

" **I**T would amaze you, the number of complaints that daily come before me, of the extravagances committed by our agents and gomastahs, all over the country; but by punishing some of the immediate servants of the factory, and dismissing others, I hope in time to bring things on a proper footing."

I COULD produce many other proofs from the Company's records, of the reality of the oppressions the country people suffer from the English agents and gomastahs, employed in the inland trade; but I believe this is a point that will be now no longer disputed.

THE Nabob Meer Jaffier complains of it as much since his re-establishment, as he did in his first administration. In short, he repeatedly declared to the Governor

vernor and Council, after his return to Calcutta in 1764, that it was impossible for his government to subsist upon such a footing, and earnestly pressed for the entire abolition of it, notwithstanding the consent he was obliged to give, in his treaty of July 1763. The Council was so sensible of the justice of the Nabob's remonstrances, that we resolved to put an end to these innovations, and give up the inland trade entirely, reserving only the indulgence of sending salt and beetle-nut to Patna and Cossimbuzar; and this to be confined to the factories, and not permitted to be dispersed about the country. European agents were forbid to reside in the country, and the most positive orders sent to the Chittagong, Dacca, and Luckypoor factories, to relinquish the salt works they had set up in prejudice of the country merchants; an act of justice which all the world now agreed in, altho' many of the members of the Board complained of it, as a grievous detraction from their rights, when I promised the same to Meer Cossim,

him, in my letter of regulations*. If the same consideration had been had for his rights, which is now had for those of Meer Jaffier, and without which no friendship can possibly subsist between the two governments, I am persuaded he would have proved a faithful ally.

As soon as the war with Meer Cossim was ended, and the Nabob Meer Jaffier in full possession of his government, I thought myself now at liberty to leave the country, which I had before declared my resolution of doing, when there should be no longer any public call upon me for my stay, I accordingly acquainted the Board with my intention, in the following letter.

Copy of the Governor's Letter to the Gentlemen of the Council. Fort William, December 19, 1763.

GENTLEMEN,

“THE unexpected and unfortunate events, with which the war with the late Nabob began, and which spread an alarm, that in some measure affected the

the settlement itself, occasioned my altering my intention of going to Europe last September ; but our army being now masters of the whole province, and hostilities at an end, I think my Employers cannot disapprove of my prosecuting that intention this season ; and that my friends and family might blame me, if I remained longer without urgent reasons, in a climate which has been found to affect me so frequently with dangerous disorders. It is my intention, therefore, to take my leave of you the beginning of next month, and to proceed with commodore Tinker to Madras, where I shall embark immediately on board his Majesty's ship Panther for England.

I THINK it my duty to acquaint you at the same time, with what observations occur to me on the present state of the country. Meer Jaffier being again in possession of the government, it is my wish he should be supported in it as long as he lives. This was also my wish before, but I found it impossible ;
and

and now again, if some timely precautions are not taken, I am apprehensive that you may soon find yourselves under the same difficulties. The Nabob's incapacity for business is universally acknowledged; he should endeavor to make up for that deficiency, by appointing men of experience and character to manage the different branches; but he seems rather to incline to throw himself into the hands of those who flatter his weakness, and take advantage of it. We are assured that Nundcoomar has, at this time, the entire disposal of the Nabob's will, and of all the affairs of the provinces, of which the consequence will be, that we shall continually be amused and perplexed with his arts and intrigues. We shall be told of the schemes of the King, and the Morattas, and all the chiefs of the empire, and what weight and interest he has with them. We shall be obliged to keep a large army constantly in the field, to guard the province against designs which never existed, by which our military expences will absorb the

most part of our revenues; and the Nabob will be led into an extravagant dissipation of his money to foreign powers, to indulge the * pride of his minister, and at length being unable to fulfil his engagements, and pay his own troops, will fall again to ruin.

THIS danger should be provided against as soon as an opportunity offers, of advising with the Nabob in such manner, as not to excite his jealousy or fear ; and the same opportunity should also be taken of settling the succession, that there may be no confusion in case of his demise, as from his advanced age such an event may always be apprehended.

SENSIBLE

* There is before the Board a striking instance of Nundcoomar's intriguing disposition. The very first letters which came from the Vizir and his principal officers, are filled with nothing but the praises of Nundcoomar. His titles and seals are received before the Nabob's own; and before any assurances are given the Nabob that he will have the *funnuds* for the provinces, he is told, that he must give Nundcoomar such and such particular employments, the most honorable and valuable belonging to the government ; and which the Nabob, at his departure from Calcutta, promised to Roydoolub.

SENSIBLE as I am of the necessity of guarding against these dangers, it is with reluctance I mention them, lest it should be suggested, that I would promote any measures disagreeable to the Nabob ; but as my duty to the Company has always had more weight with me than any other consideration, so it is that only, which, on this occasion, dictates to me.

By some of the Nabob's letters, you have seen already with how much uneasiness he expresses himself upon the least complaint of the agents, or gomastahs, of our subordinate factories, interfering with his officers in any part of the country. Our influence is such, that it will, for the most part, over-rule the Nabob's ; so that any dependent of ours may abuse that influence with impunity, if the greatest care is not taken ; and, on all such occasions, the complaints that are made are attended with invidious exaggerations, in order to excite as much possible the jealousy of the government. In short, our authority has extended itself so very near the Nabob's, that they are frequently

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clashing,

clashing, and without a very steady and moderate conduct on both sides, they cannot subsist upon their present footing, nor a friendship be maintained with this Nabob, or any other.

To put an end to this precarious and fluctuating state, it is likely the Company will resolve on an entire change of system, and either draw their own connections with the country government into narrower limits, and reduce the private trade to the footing it was on before the capture of Calcutta; or else extend them further, and render the country government fully and confessedly dependent on theirs. But it will require your greatest care, gentlemen, to keep the scale even, until the orders of the Company can arrive, and to prevent a repetition of those tragical events, of which we have lately been the 'unhappy witnesses.'

IN answer to this I received the following letter from the Board.

Copy

*Copy of a Letter from the Gentlemen of
the Council to the Governor. Dated
December 19, 1763.*

S I R,

“**T**HE letter which you laid before us at the Board this morning, having met with our serious consideration, we beg leave to offer you our sentiments thereon.

THOUGH the war against Cossim Allee Cawn is near brought to a conclusion, and we have a prospect of the country being shortly restored to its former tranquillity, yet it will be a work of great difficulty to establish measures for rendering that tranquillity perfect and secure ; and many resolutions will be found necessary to be taken, to prevent, if possible, the country and Company's trade from being again exposed to the hazard and desolation of war ; those which you have yourself instanced, are such as tend very essentially to this purpose, and will require the greatest steadiness and attention, to bring them to an happy issue. From a conviction therefore, Sir, of the material service you can be of, in forwarding

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warding so salutary a work, and wherein the well-being of the Company is so immediately concerned, we cannot but unanimously join in requesting, that you will postpone your intention of returning to Europe this season, and that you will continue in the Presidency of this settlement, until we shall have the honor to receive the Company's orders, in regard to the future management of their affairs in these provinces. We are, with much esteem,

S I R,

Your most obedient

Humble Servants,

William Billers,

John Carnac,

Warren Hastings,

Randolph Marriott,

Hugh Watts,

A. W. Senior,

John Burdett."

UPON this representation of the Council, I could not refuse to defer my departure,

departure, and accordingly replied to their letter in the following terms.

Copy of a Letter from the Governor to the Gentlemen of the Council. Dated December 22, 1763.

“ I HAVE received the honor of your letter of the 19th, in which you are pleased to express your opinion, that my remaining in the government at this time is essential to the Company’s service.

As I think it my duty to prefer that consideration before all others, I have, in consequence of your representation, determined to stay till next season. I shall hope, from your assistance, such relief as my uncertain state of health may require, and am happy in the conviction, that we shall carry on all our business with a perfect unanimity.”

I SHOULD not have introduced a circumstance of so little consequence, and merely personal as this is, but that the reader might have expected such an explanation of the motives of my continu-
ance

ance in the chair, or possibly have attributed it to caprice, after my having, in so formal a manner, declared, and repeated my resolution, to hold it no longer than whilst the war lasted. It remains now to say something of the Memorial itself. .

THE plan upon which it is formed may be objected to, as attended with too much prolixity, and sometimes perhaps with a confusion of circumstances, and want of connection, owing to the frequent, and, in some places, very long quotations from the records of the government. But I should rather hear it taxed with this inconvenience, than reproached with want of candor, as would have been the case, had I made the quotations partially, inserting those opinions which might support my arguments, and omitting what was urged on the other side of the question, of which I have been the more cautious, as some of the principal gentlemen, who differed from me, have themselves fallen in these unhappy troubles.

I HAVE likewise endeavored to avoid in the expression all passionate or indecent terms; in short, my view has been to shew the uprightness of my own intentions, with as little reproach as possible to others; and, in this light, I hope it will be accepted by the world.

THE END.



BINDING WORKS
DAYAN PALLI
AGAR, 24-PARGANAS



